The Outlook

FEBRUARY 9, 1916

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE STORY OF THE WAR: A WAR ADVENTURE OF THE HIGH SEAS

No more audacious, and in its way romantic, incident of the war has been recorded than the capture of the British passenger steamship Appam by a small vessel under German command, not far from the Canary Islands, and its voyage under a German prize crew for three thousand miles across the Atlantic to Hampton Roads, in Virginia. When the Appam suddenly appeared off the Virginian capes, bearing the German flag and reporting itself, according to press despatches, as a German auxiliary war-ship under the name of the Buffalo, the news flashed over the telegraph wires everywhere and aroused the sensation of mystery and romance. When it became known that the ship was the Appam, which, weeks ago, had been reported missing and probably lost, and when one read also the highly imaginative statement that the capture had been made by a German submarine, the mystery deepened. The facts as they later appeared are in themselves, however, eminently surprising.

The Appam was on its way from Dakar, British West Africa, to Plymouth, England. It seems now certain that the capture was made by the Moewe, a German raider, which is credited with the previous capture and destruction of six British ships and their valuable cargoes. So far as is now known, the operations of the Moewe, in striking contrast to the submarine operations of the Germans and their allies, were entirely in accordance with the rules of naval warfare. What the Moewe actually is still remains in itself a mystery. Some say that she was originally a minor German supply ship, or something of that kind; others, that she is a tramp steamship seized, somehow and somewhere, by the Germans and equipped with a fairly heavy armament for such a vessel. One detail of the report which will recall to the lovers of Cooper's stories his description of the Red Rover is that the Moewe had false bulwarks which concealed her guns so that she could approach closely to her prey and then tear down the canvas, display her guns, and raise her national flag. At all events, the Moewe approached close to the Appam and resistance was impossible.

The Appam had about four hundred and fifty people on board when she arrived at Hampton Roads, including one hundred and sixteen passengers, twenty German prisoners who were being taken from Africa to England, and the crews of some of the ships destroyed by the Moewe. Among the passengers was Sir Edward Merewether, the Governor of Sierra Leone. The German officer in command was Lieutenant Hans Berg, or Berge, said to be a member of the German Naval Reserve. He is evidently a man of resource and courage. To control a hostile crew many times the number of his own prize crew, to keep in order several scores of passengers, to navigate his prize by an unfrequented southern route and keep out of the way of British cruisers or inquisitive merchant ships which might have told of his whereabouts by wireless, was a performance which will rank in audacity with the escape of the crew of the German ship Emden; while the exploits of the little Moewe, when they come to be told in detail, will evidently rival those of the Kronprinz Wilhelm, which captured fifteen ships and destroyed fourteen million dollars' worth of property before it was interned at Hampton Roads. One story is that control over the crew and passengers of the Appam was secured by placing high explosives in vital parts of the ship with notice to the captives that any attempt at force would be followed by the destruction of the ship, passengers, prize crew, and all. The passengers were kept most of the time in their staterooms, but were allowed out in small parties for exercise.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE APPAM?

Perhaps no other incident of the war has raised more perplexing questions of international law than that of the Appam. Our

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

State Department has a difficult diplomatic task before it in dealing with the German and British Governments in the matter. It is hardly necessary to say, however, that these problems are not questions of National honor or of the protection of American lives, such as are involved in the still unatoned slaughter of Americans on the Lusitania and other outrages on those whom our Government is bound by its primary duty to protect.

Precedents are quoted as to the Appam case, but it is doubtful whether any of them exactly correspond with it. Authorities seem also to differ as to how our Hague Convention agreements, or (what is perhaps more important) refusal to make agreements, bear on the Appam case. If the Appam is to be looked at as a commerce raider or auxiliary German war-ship, our course is clear; she must be treated exactly as the German auxiliary war-vessels now interned at Norfolk were treated—that is, she must either leave port after a prescribed brief interval for refitting, recoaling, and provisioning, or she must be interned for the rest of the war. But this does not seem to be the case; and the only reason for taking it into account is the report that Germany will make such a claim; this report, in turn, is based chiefly on the fact already stated, that the commander of the Appam prize crew so reported on entering our waters. There is no evidence that she in any way acted like a war-vessel; and it is even said that the Moewe removed from the Appam the one gun she possessed. Under any theory, the passengers and other non-combatants will be released.

In an interesting discussion of the case in the New York "Sun" by Professor Ellery C. Stowell, of Columbia University, who will be remembered by our readers as the author of articles on international law questions in The Outlook, the opinion is expressed that the Appam cannot be legally sequestrated at Norfolk. This opinion is based on the fact that the United States, as regards Article 23 of the thirteenth Hague Convention, made a "reservation" (that is, refused to adhere to it) and thereby placed itself on record as opposed to the sequestration of prizes, which is allowed by Article 23. The United States and England at The Hague favored a rule forbidding altogether the destruction of a neutral prize; if this had been done, the permission of sequestration would be defensible.

A case involving the sequestration of a prize arose a year ago when a British ship captured by a German vessel came into one of the Porto Rican ports. The main point involved under Article 23 was not, however, decided, because it appeared that this British ship, the Farn, had been used by the Germans after capture as a collier, which made it an auxiliary war-ship. An old treaty with Prussia may have, however, a bearing on this case and may be held to give Germany a right to leave the Appam here.

Another question on which opinions differ is whether, assuming that we have a right to order the Appam out of port after a reasonable time, we have also an international obligation to do so—in other words, whether we may exercise our judgment in this matter or *must* so act—and in this connection it is said by some that, unless it is our plain duty to act in this way, it would unnecessarily provoke indignation in Germany, because it would be, in effect, to hand the ship over to the British cruisers now doubtless hovering outside Hampton Roads. There is every reason to hope that the Appam can be sequestrated or interned; for every such vessel thus given asylum means a vessel not sunk at sea.

MORE ZEPPELIN RAIDS

The Zeppelin attack of January 31 in England is, according to press cable despatches, described by the British War Office's official statement as "the biggest yet." What is specially notable is the area covered by the raid. German reports assert that the Zeppelins (no one seems to know just how many they were) threw bombs on Liverpool, on the Birkenhead docks and harbor and factories, on Manchester, on the blast furnaces at Nottingham and Sheffield, and on the industrial establishments on the Humber. British reports deny that Liverpool was reached, but say that two hundred and twenty bombs were dropped on Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire.

If British official statements are correct, the material damage was inconsiderable except in Staffordshire, and the military damage nil. When we compare this statement with the fact that fifty-four persons were killed and sixty-seven injured (nearly all non-combatants), we have a new proof that Germany's aim in these raids is not military advantage, but terrorism. Her "frightfulness" has not yet caused Great Britain to falter in purpose or effort.

Zeppelin raids have also been made lately

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on Paris and Salonika. In Paris on January 30 six or seven Zeppelins dropped many bombs and killed or wounded fifty-two persons; pitiful details of the maiming and killing of children, women, and old people are included in the Paris despatches. Germany declares that this raid was in reprisal for French air attacks on Freiburg, Karlsruhe, and Stuttgart. Now some voices in France call for a new raid on Germany in reprisal for this German raid on Paris. Nothing could better illustrate the brutality, futility, and endless vicious circle of the whole reprisal theory. At Salonika some damage was done to munitions and stores; most of the sixty killed or wounded were Greeks, who are neutrals and non-combatants.

THE FIGHTING, WEST AND EAST

The recent German offensives in the French line near Arras and near the North Sea at Nieuport were both checked, the former with some gain to the Germans (perhaps three-fourths of a mile over a front of two and a half miles), the latter without any appreciable German success. The fighting near Arras centered around the town of Frise (reported captured by the Germans), on the River Somme, some twenty-five miles north of the great angle where the long line of opposing armies turns from a west-and-east to a north-and-south direction. Here the exploding of mines, the capture and recapture of trenches, and the hand-to-hand fighting were fierce in the extreme.

In the eastern field of battle the progress of the Russian campaign through the Caucasus and into northern Armenia is of immense importance. Reports that the Russians have taken Erzerum have been repeated, but are denied. If Erzerum falls, a considerable Armenian population will be saved from further Turkish cruelty. The Russian advance has spread out, fanlike, toward west and south, and may in time reach a point where it may help remove the pressure on the British on the Tigris in Mesopotamia. Nothing new and definite had been heard from the situation on the Tigris up to February 2. Elsewhere in this issue will be found an interesting article on "The Drive Eastward," by Mr. Lewis R. Freeman, with a map of the territory involved.

DISARMING MERCHANT VESSELS

It has been reported and universally accepted as a fact that the United States Government has asked all the European belligerent Powers to make an agreement that hereafter merchant vessels shall carry no arms whatever for their own defense. And it is also reported that the United States Government has notified these Powers that, unless they subscribe to this, armed merchantmen will be denied entry to American ports except under conditions which apply to war-ships. Although by the middle of last week the text of this communication had not been made public, the report that such a communication had been sent was accepted as true by the press not only of America but of foreign countries.

If this is true, it means that the Government of the United States proposes to require a change in one of the rules of warfare in the midst of war. The right of a merchantman to carry arms for its own defense has been long recognized. Indeed, it is explicitly so recognized in the Revised Statutes of the United States, and the United States Court of Claims has decided that the seizure by France of an American merchantman could not be justified by the fact that the vessel was armed for defensive purposes. (See Moore's "Digest of International Law," Volume II, page 1071.) And in this war the present Administration has taken the same view, and has explicitly permitted belligerent merchant vessels to carry arms for defensive purposes. It is not necessary here to go into details as to what constitutes proof of the defensive purposes. The number and the caliber of the guns and their location on the vessel are all taken into consideration. The point is that the practice of arming merchantmen under restriction has been recognized as legitimate.

The reason ascribed for the proposal to change this rule is found in the conditions created by submarine warfare. The modern submarine, it is said, is fragile, and may be sunk by a single shot from a small-caliber gun carried by a merchantman. The submarine, therefore, cannot always with safety challenge a merchantman as a cruiser or a battle-ship could, for whereas the cruiser or battle-ship would be immune from any harm that the merchantman could do, the submarine would be in danger. Consequently the submarines (this is true solely of Germany and her allies) have yielded to the temptation to sink merchant vessels without approaching them and without giving their passengers and crew an opportunity to escape, and of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

course without any opportunity to search the merchantmen. There has been a consequent appalling slaughter of non-combatants. So, it is argued, merchantmen should stop arming themselves in order that they may be made weaker than submarines and not subject submarine commanders to the temptation to which they have heretofore yielded.

Until the text of this communication is made public we can hardly credit the report that such a communication has been sent. This would be merely yielding to German "frightfulness." It would be changing the laws of warfare for the benefit of one of the belligerents. It would be accepting the argument that military necessity knows no law.

If there is any occasion for changing the rules of warfare, they ought to be changed in the other direction. If the submarine cannot carry on its warfare without resorting to the practices of the pirate, it ought to be treated as a pirate, and the merchantman ought to be allowed the privilege, not merely of defending itself, but of attacking the submarine, as it has the privilege of attacking a pirate, without losing its peaceful status. If we are going to change the rules of warfare while the war is going on, let us change them in the interest of humanity and not in the interest of the pirate and the brute.

As the greatest of neutral nations, the United States has done nothing to protect peaceful merchantmen against piratical attacks. To adopt any such policy as is outlined in this report would be equivalent to saying to those peaceful merchantmen: "America has not protected you, and now America declines to allow you to protect yourselves."

A REMARKABLE APPEAL FROM BELGIUM

There was published last week in the New York "Evening Post," for the first time in this country, an extraordinary appeal from a group of Belgian Roman Catholic bishops to their colleagues in Germany and Austria. It is in the form of a letter dated November 24, 1915. The letter is signed by Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines, whose words and deeds as a Belgian minister of the Church have given him historical distinction, and by the Bishops of Ghent, Bruges, Namur, Liège, and Tournai.

It is impossible to describe the spirit and language of this remarkable appeal. Its frankness, deep feeling, and Christian charity are very affecting. The Belgian bishops begin by a statement of the facts. When Belgium was invaded by Germany, the Germans were accused of committing inexcusable atrocities. The Belgian bishops assert that these charges are based on evidence that convinces them of their truth. But they state that their German and Austrian brethren deny their truth and make counter-charges of atrocities committed by Belgians on Germans which they themselves believe to be baseless in fact. Even the Kaiser in a telegram to President Wilson accused Belgian Catholic priests of atrocious deeds. This exchange of accusation and denial, the Belgian bishops say, has created a scandal in the Christian Church. In the great case of the invasion of Belgium, German Catholics claim that Belgium was at fault, while Belgian Catholics protest that they have suffered physical outrage and bitter injustice.

And that our protestation may not run counter to yours, without useful effect, we ask you to be willing to aid us to institute a tribunal for searching inquiry of evidence and counter-evidence. In the name of your official tribunal you will appoint as many members as you desire and as it pleases you to choose; we will appoint as many more—three, for example, on each side. And we will ask of a neutral state—Holland, Spain, Switzerland, or the United States—to appoint for us a "superarbiter," who will preside over the operations of the tribunal.

You have taken your complaints to the Sovereign Head of the Church.

It is not just that he should hear only your voice.

You will have the loyalty to aid us to have our voice heard also.

We have—you and we—an identical duty to put before his Holiness tried documents on which he will be able to base his judgment.

The Belgian bishops add that they asked nearly a year ago the German political and military authorities in Belgium for a joint investigation, but were refused. They now appeal to their Christian brethren to submit to an investigation by the Church.

It would be a great gain to Christendom if such an arbitration as Cardinal Mercier proposes could be arranged. It would be in accord with the teachings of Jesus, who said—we quote from the Douay version of St. Matthew's report of his sermon: "But if thy brother shall offend against thee, go and rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou shalt gain thy brother.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And if he will not hear thee, take with thee two or three more: that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand. And if he will not hear them, tell the Church. And if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican."

Up to this time, it is said, the German ecclesiastics have made no reply to the appeal of their Belgian brethren. We hope that they do not mean to ignore it altogether.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECHES ON PREPAREDNESS

Before great crowds, first in New York City and later in the cities of the Middle West, including Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Des Moines, President Wilson has been presenting his arguments for National defense. As stated by himself, his purpose is evidently twofold: first, to report as Chief Steward of the country's honor and safety the conditions which call for measures of defense; and, second, to elicit from the people expressions of loyalty and support in behalf of defense. "I should feel that I was guilty of an unpardonable omission," he said at Cleveland, "if I did not go out and tell my fellow-countrymen that new circumstances have arisen which made it absolutely necessary that this country should prepare herself, not for war nor for anything that smacks in the least of aggression, but for adequate National defense." That expressed the first part of his purpose; and the second part he stated in his speech at Des Moines: "Some one who does not know our fellow-citizens quite as well as he ought to know them told me that there was a certain degree of indifference and lethargy in the Middle West with regard to the defense of the Nation. I said, 'I do not believe it, but I am going out to see,' and I have seen. I have seen what I expected to see—great bodies of serious men, great bodies of earnest women, coming together to show their profound interest in the objects of this visit of mine."

On two occasions President Wilson referred to the Mexican situation: once to explain that, in his opinion, intervention would alienate from us the sympathies of the other republics of this hemisphere; and once to use the Mexican situation as an illustration of the need of making the regular army complete, even on a peace footing. Beyond these two references President Wilson dwelt almost exclusively on the situation created by the European war.

That he felt the burden of his stewardship the President evidently wished to impress upon his hearers, saying at one time that on many a night it seemed impossible for him to sleep "because of the thought of the apparently inextricable difficulties into which our international relations were drifting." Though recognizing the advantage of a campaign year as "a year of political accounting" that impresses upon every public man the truth that "the goods must be delivered," he deplored the fact that this was a campaign year. He recognized the services of Mr. Mann, the Republican leader in Congress, in refusing to make the issue of preparedness a partisan issue, and thanked God "that there is no party politics when it comes to the life and the welfare of the United States."

President Wilson frankly acknowledged that he had changed his mind on the subject of preparedness, recalled the address to Congress in which he had said "that this question of military preparedness was not a pressing question," and added that he would be ashamed if he "had not learned something in fourteen months." Repeatedly he impressed upon his hearers the greatness of the change that had come over his understanding of the situation. At Chicago, for example, he said:

> A year ago it did seem as if America might rest secure without very great anxiety, and take it for granted that she would not be drawn into this terrible maelstrom; but the six months was merely the beginning of the struggle. Another year has been added, and now no man can confidently say whether the United States will be drawn into the struggle or not, and therefore it is absolutely necessary that we should take counsel together as to what it is necessary that we should do.

And again:

> I did not realize a year ago that the things were possible which have since become actual facts. I am glad that I know better now than I knew then exactly the sort of world we are living in.

THE PRESIDENT'S WARNING AND APPEAL

It is clear that Mr. Wilson believes the peril to the country very real, otherwise he would not have said in Cleveland: "I also know the difficulties, the real dangers—dangers not about things that I can handle, but

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about things that the other parties handle, and I cannot control them." But it is not so clear whether Mr. Wilson regards the peril as remote or as near. At Milwaukee, on January 31, he said: "I want at the outset to remove any misapprehension that may exist in your mind. There is no sudden crisis; nothing new has happened; I am not out upon this errand because of any unexpected situation." And yet on the next day, at Des Moines, he said: "I merely want to tell you that the men who say that we should prepare and prepare immediately are telling the sober truth."

It is not to the soil of the country, but to the country's honor, its principles of right and justice, that the President evidently feels the danger most manifest. He put aside the thought of the danger of invasion, but he emphasized the danger of having "to assert these principles of right and humanity at any time." The heart of his speeches may be put in his own words briefly: "You have laid upon me the double obligation of maintaining the honor of the United States and of maintaining the peace of the United States. Is it not conceivable that the two might become incompatible?" The people of the United States are devoted to peace, but he asserted that they are devoted to justice and honor more. "Any man who does violence to right, any nation that does violence to the principles of just international understanding, is doing violence to the ideals of the United States." At the same time the President declared that there is no precedent in American history "for any action which will show that America is seeking to connect herself with the controversies on the other side of the water." The President did not undertake to reconcile these two statements.

Besides these dangers from without, the President referred to dangers from within; but, speaking at Milwaukee, a great center of population of German origin or descent, he declared that these dangers due to "division of sentiment" are "now past and overcome."

Loyalty he therefore counted on in support of National defense, and he declared that for the purposes of defense the people themselves must provide the means in men and in money. Of the possibility of getting a half million volunteers he said he had no doubt. He was sure that employers would give the young men in their employ leave to take the necessary training. And he urged the need of such training in order that these men may not be "mere target for shot and shell."

The navy he announced to be ready for war. He reported, as an expert opinion which he had to accept, the fact that the navy was fourth in size among the navies of the world, though he ranked it higher in quality. He urged support for the plan as set forth in the Administration's naval programme.

The President declared preposterous the accusation that the preparedness movement was due to the makers of munitions. He had no doubt, he declared, that the Government could prevent undue profits from munition manufacture, but he added: "If it is necessary to defend this Nation, we are going to defend it, no matter who makes money and no matter what it costs."

The question that the President put to his audiences can well be stated in his own words: "Do you want the situation to be such that all that the President can do is to write messages, to utter words of protest?"

THE PRESIDENT'S OPPORTUNITY

The President's speeches certainly indicate that he regards preparedness against war as a means of securing peace the most important issue now before the country. In this it is hardly necessary to tell our readers that we heartily agree with him, and, unless we are greatly mistaken, the public sentiment is rapidly coming to the same conclusion.

His speeches will doubtless do something to strengthen that public sentiment and accelerate the change; but he could do a great deal more if he would accompany his speeches with the kind of action for which a strong conviction calls.

This is his chance to recover a losing, if not a lost, leadership. We should like to see him obtain, by one of those strategies which shrewd politicians know how to employ, the resignation of Mr. Daniels, and appoint in his place as Secretary of the Navy a man possessing a knowledge of naval needs and conditions and known by the country to hold the views so forcibly put forth by Admiral Fletcher; we should like to see him appoint a Commission of National Defense, of which, of course, he should be President, on which should be the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War, the Chairmen of the Army and Navy Committees both in the Senate and in the House, and some civilians not now in public life and not members

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Kirby in the New York World

THE ARMOR-BEARER

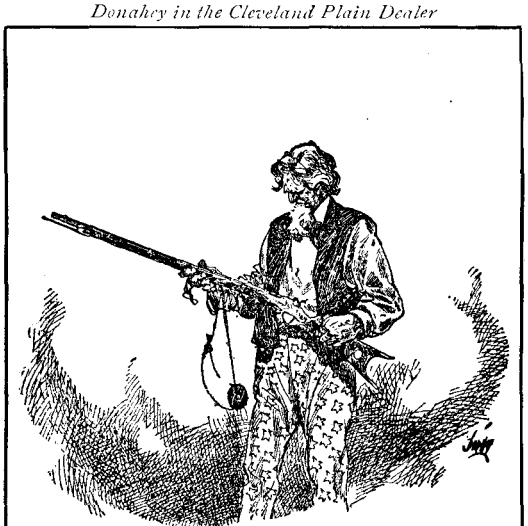
FOR THE COUNTRY'S DEFENSE

Donahey in the Cleveland Plain Dealer

BRYAN: "I SEE NO DANGER"

WALKING UNAWARES INTO THE ABYSS

Donahey in the Cleveland Plain Dealer



IT'S TIME TO LAY ASIDE THE OLD SQUIRREL GUN

McCay in the New York American

Copyright 1916 by International News Service. Reprinted by permission

OUR PROTECTORS!

PREPAREDNESS MUST BRING NEW AND UP-TO-DATE EQUIPMENT

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marcus in the New York Times

THE NEW BABY

THE FIRST LOOK—THEY MAY LEARN TO LIKE EACH OTHER

From the Cleveland News

THE HORSE LAUGHS

IF THIS GOES ON, THE HORSE MAY COME BACK

From the Berliner Tageblatt

THE FIGHT FOR BAGDAD

Britannia: "For Heaven's sake, don't let the servants see you, or they will lose all respect for us!"

[The servants in the background are India, South Africa, and Egypt.]

IS ENGLAND ASHAMED OF HER EASTERN CAMPAIGN?

From the Bystander (London)

THE IMPERIAL PRAYER

H. I. M. the Kaiser *(giving a few instructions to the Prussian tribal deity before retiring to rest):* "And pray keep the present British Ministry in office for the rest of their lives."

ENGLAND IS A FREE COUNTRY—HER PAPERS SATIRIZE THE GOVERNMENT

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his own party, who would bring to this commission knowledge and experience acquired in past service and the cordial support and confidence of a large constituency of the people.

What effect such a course would have on his own political fortunes, or even on those of his party, we do not know, but, in our judgment, the crisis is such as to justify the President in ignoring his own political fortunes and even the prospects of his party in an endeavor to unite in a common effort for National defense men of all parties and of no party who agree with the President that "there is something the American people love better than peace. They love the principles upon which their political life is founded, they are ready at any time to fight for the vindication of their character and honor."

MR. BRANDEIS FOR THE SUPREME COURT

In nominating Mr. Louis D. Brandeis to the United States Supreme Court President Wilson astonished the country. Mr. Brandeis's reputation has been such as to dissociate from his name those qualities that are commonly attributed to judicial positions. He has been for many years an "attorney for the people." He has time and again taken up a cause which had no financial support, freely offered to it the services of his legal knowledge and ability, and against great odds has won a victory in the public interest. Naturally, those whose financial interests have been involved in these cases have in many instances regarded Mr. Brandeis perfectly honestly as a dangerous agitator; but even his supporters have thought of him, not so much as a judge, but as a knight-errant.

He is a native of Kentucky. He is in his sixtieth year. His father was an abolitionist, and as a boy Louis Brandeis felt the consequences of his father's opinions by getting a licking in school on the morning after the battle of Bull Run. He studied in Dresden, but German paternalism "got on his nerves," as he says. He graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1877, and received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Harvard in 1891. Before he reached thirty he had a large law practice in Boston, and he soon determined to give himself to public work. His appearance before a committee of Congress in a tariff hearing as representative of the consumer elicited laughter and jeers. It was all right for a lawyer to appear on such an occasion for any interest except that of the public. He created enmity in Boston by his fight for the city's control of its transportation lines. He provided the so-called sliding scale for the regulation of gas rates in Boston, by which for every five-cent reduction in the rate to the consumer below the standard the gas company was entitled to an increase of one per cent in the dividend. This ingenious plan resulted in lowering the price of gas and increasing the income of the gas company's stockholders—a proof that public service may be made consistent with success. He did much to bring into being the Massachusetts savings bank insurance system. In the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy Mr. Brandeis acted as the counsel for Mr. Glavis, whom Mr. Ballinger had dismissed; and it was due to Mr. Brandeis as much as any one that the continuance of the Ballinger régime was made practically impossible. What most contributed to his National reputation was his conduct of the examination of the railway officials and eminent engineers and managers before the Inter-State Commerce Commission, in which he opposed the increase of rates on the ground that by scientific management the railways could save enough to give adequate compensation. What many will regard as his greatest legal service was rendered when he proved to the satisfaction of the Supreme Court, in the famous Oregon laundry case, that it is Constitutional to have a State law to protect women from overwork. He proved this not by legal deduction but by presentation of the facts of life. In one famous case he has acted not as advocate but as arbitrator. In the cloakmakers' business in New York there was in 1910 a very bitter conflict between employers and employees. The differences seemed irreconcilable, for they centered about the question of the closed shop. It was due to Mr. Brandeis that the two sides agreed on an arrangement known as the "protocol." This was an instance where a decision was not so much rendered as created; for the relation established under that arrangement was something new in the history of industry.

Mr. Brandeis is a Jew, and has been (as a recent article by him in The Outlook showed) an ardent advocate of Zionism.

IS THIS A GOOD APPOINTMENT?

The fact that Mr. Brandeis is a Jew and very earnest in his Jewish faith is a reason for, rather than against, his confirmation. It

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is very desirable that the Supreme Court bench should contain representatives of different religious faiths and different social views and companionships. It is said, we believe, that there never has been a Jew on the Supreme Court bench. The Roman Catholic Church is represented, as well as Protestant churches. If now a Jew should be appointed, the three most prominent religious faiths in America—the Jewish, the Protestant, and the Catholic—would have their representatives in this Court. If any religious question should come before it, the Court would have the opportunity of getting in the consulting-room the views of each of these great bodies of opinion.

For the same reason Mr. Brandeis's quasi-Socialistic sympathies furnish a reason for his confirmation. The rights of property are exceedingly well represented in all our courts. Naturally the people seek able lawyers for the bench. Naturally great corporations employ able lawyers as their counselors. Naturally, therefore, the courts are recruited from those members of the bar whose training has led them to sympathize with the men of large property. It is desirable that there should be brought into our courts a larger proportion of men who are familiar with the conditions of wage-earners, who sympathize with them, and who can represent their interests and their point of view in judicial decisions. Mr. Brandeis's ability to do this will not be questioned by any one who is familiar with his past history.

Nor does it appear to us that the mere fact that he has had no judicial experience upon the bench should militate against his confirmation. Mr. Justice Hughes was never on the bench until his appointment as Associate Judge of the Supreme Court; and John Marshall, who was probably the ablest judge, all things considered, that this country has ever known, had never occupied a place as judge in any court until he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Whatever question may arise respecting the propriety of Mr. Brandeis's confirmation grows out of the impression which the country possesses respecting his personal temperament. A great reformer rarely makes a great judge. The reformer is passionately devoted to a cause. He finds it difficult, if not impossible, to detach himself from that cause sufficiently to see both sides of any question which threatens its success. Wendell Phillips or William Lloyd Garrison would have made a poor arbiter to pass on the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law; and Neal Dow, the originator and apostle of prohibition, would hardly be the one to pass on the constitutionality of National prohibition. Mr. Brandeis's passionate devotion to the cause of the wage-worker is a very attractive element in his character, but it is not singular that many patriotic citizens regard this as a serious impediment to his career as a United States Supreme Court judge. The same quality furnishes an additional impediment. It is of the first importance that there should be enough sympathy of spirit in the Supreme Court judges, enough of mutual understanding and of mutual respect, to enable them to consult together with the hope of agreement. A few years ago the Supreme Court was hopelessly divided. The income tax was decided to be Constitutional by a majority of one, and then the decision was reversed because that one changed his mind; and the Insular Cases were similarly decided by a majority of one, a fact which seriously affected, for the time being, the respect of the country for the decisions reached. Team work is essential to the real efficiency of this great tribunal. Whether Mr. Brandeis, with his ardent temperament and his intense convictions, would find team work possible is a question which it is fair to ask. There are other men in the country who possess his religious views and his social sympathies who could never do in social reform the work which he has done, and yet who, perhaps for that very reason, would be better fitted to exert the kind of influence which we, as social reformers, would like to see exerted in that tribunal.

Yet it is to be remembered that in the great Garment Workers' strike in New York Mr. Brandeis's ardent temperament and intense convictions did not prevent him from acting as arbitrator with signal efficiency and success. In this critical case, involving great interests and the welfare of thousands of workers, Mr. Brandeis held the scales even and reconciled seemingly irreconcilable forces. This must not be forgotten in recounting Mr. Brandeis's achievements as an advocate and reformer.

We have tried in this brief statement to put before our readers a fair report of the public opinion in this case. The induction of an untried man into an office involving new and grave responsibilities must always be regarded, not only by others but by himself,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as an experiment. We indulge in no prophecy as to the result of this experiment. We appreciate the fears of those of our contemporaries who deprecate this appointment. But the responsibility for making it rests with the President, and we do not think these fears furnish a sufficient ground for the Senate to take the responsibility of rejecting the appointment. We hope that the nomination of Mr. Brandeis will be confirmed.

NEW YORK'S CHILDREN'S COURT

Within the last ten years throughout the country the Children's Court has sprung up as a necessary and legitimate part of the community's activity. Denver has developed a Court in which the judge is a striking figure; and his personality has gained for the Court wide publicity. The juvenile tribunals of Chicago and Boston are examples of courts in which the old idea of punishment has given way to that of prevention and scientific reformative treatment.

In great movements such as that of the Children's Court New York City moves slowly. From 1910 on, however, after the passage of the New York Inferior Criminal Courts Act, commonly known as the Page Law, unpretentious but steady progress has been made. Conscientious and earnest judges have been selected to sit as Children's Court judges. A probation system second to none in the country has been developed. High-minded men and women in organizations such as the Big Brother and Big Sister Movements have worked to help the individual children that come into the Court. City officials and a group of disinterested citizens known as the Committee on Criminal Courts of the Charity Organization Society and others have worked together for improvement in every line. Progress has been quiet but sure. Last spring the Legislature passed a law giving the children's courts of the greater city a Board of Justices of their own, and separating the court entirely from the administration of any adult criminal court. This law, sponsored by the Committee on Criminal Courts, has given the court all the freedom for development that can be desired. January 25 of this year marked the climax of this steady progress. On that day prominent people from all over the country gathered to rejoice in New York's Children's Court's development in the dedication of the finest building ever erected for a children's court. An exterior and an interior view of this building appear in our picture section this week.

The architectural design is expressive of the city's quiet, efficient handling of the vast numbers of delinquent and neglected children. The modest simplicity of the building throughout embodies the idea of the dignity and kindliness of justice. The building, which is on East Twenty-second Street, is a four-story structure. It cost $220,000, exclusive of the value of the land upon which it stands, and was built for $20,000 less than the appropriation.

This single Court handles nine thousand cases annually. The judges, architects, city officials, the Committee on Criminal Courts of the Charity Organization Society, and others have spared no pains and effort to make the building thoroughly adequate for the needs. Aside from the beautiful spacious entrance and foyer, the first floor is given over to an information bureau, record room, a room for the clerk of the court, and consulting rooms for the use of the probation officers and auxiliary societies. The second is the court-room floor. In addition to the court-room and a spacious waiting-room, there are a complaint-room, a rest-room, a library to be used as a court-room for hearing cases in chambers, the judge's chambers, and the offices of the Presiding Justice. The third floor is given over to the detention-rooms for boys and girls, a nursery and mothers' room; the fourth is chiefly occupied with offices.

THE WESTERN FLOODS

Tremendous rains, including several cloudbursts, were the cause of one of the worst floods that California remembers. The damaged area includes the valleys in southwestern California to a point fifty miles north of the Mexican border, but apparently the district that suffered most was the valley of the Otay River near the mouth of that stream, on San Diego Bay. According to the latest reports at the time of writing, fifty lives were lost in the Otay Valley when the dam at Otay was burst by the torrent of turbulent water that the heavy rains had piled up behind it. It is now said that not more than ten persons were drowned by the floods in the San Luis Rey and San Pasqual Valleys, bringing the total death list up to sixty instead of one hundred, as was first rumored.

But the casualties may be increased if it is true, as reported, that the great Morena

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dam on the Tia Juana River, sixty miles back of San Diego Bay, has also burst. For the fifteen billion gallons of water which the Morena Dam holds back, if released, might plow a new channel for the river across Coronado Strand, endangering the lives of every one living in the flood's path between the narrow gorge where the dam was built and the sea.

No accurate estimate of the property loss can yet be made, but it will undoubtedly be very great. Among other items, two summer hotels and many summer cottages on San Diego Bay are believed to have been destroyed, as well as many farm-houses back from the sea, and thousands of feet of the San Diego and Arizona Railroad have been reported swept away. According to the estimate of the San Diego Relief Committee, three thousand persons are homeless.

The first news of the breaking of the Otay Dam was carried to San Diego in an aeroplane by Colonel Max Fleischmann, of Cincinnati, and was carried from there to Los Angeles by a private yacht. In fact, for four days San Diego was in touch with the outside world only by wireless and by means of seagoing vessels. The relief service of the army and navy at the scene of the disaster has been conspicuous. The looting which followed the flood in the Otay Valley, and which Rear-Admiral Fullam, in command of the Pacific Reserve Fleet, is said to have called "the worst I have ever seen," was checked by marines and sailors from the battle-ship Oregon, the cruisers Milwaukee and South Dakota, and the destroyers Lawrence and Hull. The long, sandy arm of the Coronado Strand was patrolled by Federal troops, who kept rowdies and souvenir hunters out of the valley at the point of the bayonet.

The floods on the Colorado River at Yuma, Arizona, and on the Mississippi, Ohio, White, and Arkansas Rivers have thus far not been so serious as those in San Diego County, but whereas the waters have subsided in the hills behind San Diego, as this is written, the crisis seems not yet past in the valleys of the four other streams. At Hickman, Kentucky, a break in the Mississippi levee made eight hundred people homeless. The principal levees on the Colorado River at Yuma, Arizona, on the Arkansas River, and on the White River—another large stream in Arkansas—have thus far held. But with these rivers still rising the fears of the inhabitants on their banks are doing likewise, and many persons on these three streams have forsaken their homes to wait on high land until the waters subside.

A WISE CHURCH PENSION FUND

A little over five years ago the General Convention of the Episcopal Church appointed a commission in which clergymen and laymen were united for the purpose of creating an adequate pension system for the clergy of that Church. This commission gathered information concerning practically all past pension systems throughout the world, including information concerning their statistical bases, their rules, and their financial experience. In their study of the information thus obtained the Commission had the aid of some of the best actuarial experts in the country. The Church Pension Fund which they have devised, which has been submitted to and authorized by the General Convention, and which is now being put in operation, is the result of their labors.

With the omission of details not necessary for the general understanding of the plan, it may briefly be described as follows: A Church Pension Fund has been organized, with Bishop Lawrence, of Massachusetts, at its head, and has been chartered by the New York Legislature. It is organized, not on a charitable, but on a business basis, and a system of regular payments for the maintenance of the pension fund is an essential part of the system, the success of which will depend upon the spirit with which the churches enter into and carry out their part in its execution. It has already secured so hearty an approval from a majority of the bishops and other clergy as to make its general acceptance by the Church reasonably certain.

The purpose of this plan is to secure to every clergyman at the age of sixty-eight, upon his retirement from regular active work, an annuity of not less than six hundred dollars and not over fifty per cent of his average annual salary; or upon disability at any age a similar annuity during the continuance of the disability, equal to forty per cent of the average annual salary for the last five years of his active service. It also makes some provisions for a widow and minor orphans, if such have been left by the clergyman's death. To secure the necessary fund the parish which accepts this plan will, in addition to paying its regular salary to its rector, pay also annually into the Church Pension Fund an amount equal to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seven per cent of their rector's salary. Each payment made by his parish will be credited to the rector and will produce a corresponding annuity, which will be his, no matter to what other parish or diocese he may go later. If for any year his parish does not pay the premium, his annuity will be proportionately reduced. As there has been no collection from the parishes for such a pension fund in the past, this scheme would make no provision for the annuity of clergymen who are now approaching the age of retirement. If, for example, a clergyman is fifty-eight when the fund starts, the Church Pension Fund would have in its treasury to its credit on his retirement at sixty-eight only the result of ten years' payments for him. To meet this need and provide for retiring clergymen as soon as the scheme is fairly launched the Church Pension Fund is undertaking to secure an initial reserve of five million dollars through gifts of individual churchmen.

All denominations have had for many years past a Ministerial Relief Fund out of which payments have been made to retired clergymen who had been unable to save out of their meager salaries a surplus for their support in their old age. But not only has this fund always been wholly inadequate to meet the legitimate demands made upon it, it has been a charity fund obtainable only by clergymen by or for whom special application was made for relief. The plan proposed by the Episcopal Commission will automatically bestow upon every clergyman upon his retirement a pension which the Church deems he has earned by his services to the Church.

ITS ADVANTAGES

In our judgment, Mr. Carnegie's pension fund for retiring college professors is one of the wisest charities of modern times. It is equally valuable to the college and to the professor. The college is no longer obliged to keep in its class-room a professor whose age or infirmity unfits him for doing the best work for the college, and the professor is relieved while his work is going on from the supposed necessity of lecturing or writing books or engaging in some form of business in order to lay up a fund for his old age, and when the time of retirement comes is prevented from feeling that it is necessary, in order to live, that he should continue his college work after he has lost interest in his work and, to that extent, capacity for it.

The same results will be reaped both by the churches and the clergy from the Church Pension Fund, provided it is successfully carried out. While the clergyman is still active in the ministry he will be saved from that worry which always involves a loss of efficiency, and peculiarly so in the case of a clergyman. He will no longer feel himself required to go on with his parish work while he knows himself to be decreasing in power and sees his parish crumbling under him.

In some kinds of business a man can go on with his work with lessened energy and shortened hours and compensate for the loss by the larger wisdom which experience enables him to impart to his juniors. But in the great majority of parishes there are no juniors, and for the successful work of the minister in the pulpit spiritual enthusiasm and energy are at least as important as wisdom in counsel. Under the Church Pension Fund system the minister, sorrowfully conscious that his energy and enthusiasm are ebbing away, will be able to retire from the active pastorate, will have a modest income for his support, will know that his wife and minor children are at least partly provided for, and will, in almost all cases, find ways of serving either his own parish or the entire Church through personal service, occasional addresses, or contributions to the press or to literature.

We hope that this plan of the Episcopal Church will work out so successfully as to furnish an example which other Churches can and will follow.

THE GERMAN SOCIALIST CONSTITUENCIES

A cablegram announces that at a recent meeting of his constituents at Spandau, near Berlin, Dr. Karl Liebknecht's attitude was approved. This is an event of significance. Dr. Liebknecht was the first Socialist in Parliament to raise his voice against the German Government's war credits. He has steadily opposed them, and is also the leader of the radical Socialists in efforts both to better the economic conditions of the people, especially in so far as the cost of food is concerned, and to bring about a peace without any annexation of foreign territory. The despatch reads further: "Dr. Liebknecht was urged to continue his action in the Reichstag [the Imperial lower house] and in the Prussian Diet in the interest of the common people."

The radical Socialists, although less in number in the Reichstag than the conservative Socialists, may be found to command a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

greater constituency. The entire number of Socialist members in the lower house of the German Parliament is 110. Of these the Conservative majority numbers 67 and the radical minority 43. According to the "New York Volkszeitung," the 110 Socialist members were elected by over 2,750,000 voters, of whom more than 1,234,000 cast their ballots for forty of the minority. To this number should be added over 175,000 Socialist voters in seven election divisions where the policy of the conservative majority has been repudiated. The radical minority in the Reichstag represents a radical majority of voters.

Under such conditions we may rightly understand the action of the Berlin "Vorwärts," which spiritedly refuses to allow itself to be disqualified as the official Socialist party organ. The recent resolution of the Socialist Executive Committee denounced the paper because of its support of the anti-war faction. It would seem that this faction is growing far faster than is any other German political entity. This growth, we believe, has vital significance both for Germany as a nation and for the decisive issue of the present war.

MAYOR LUNN AND THE SOCIALISTS

George Richard Lunn is Mayor of Schenectady, New York. He is notable for two reasons:

First, he is an example of the clergyman in politics. A graduate of Union Theological Seminary and later holding the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Union College, Mayor Lunn was for three years associate pastor of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, New York, after which he became pastor of the United People's Church in Schenectady.

Second, Mayor Lunn is a Socialist, and the first Socialist Mayor elected in New York State. This, however, does not mean that he is not capable of being unpartisan and independent when necessary. It certainly does not mean that he has put his intellectual and moral self-respect into his pocket. In making the appointments delegated to him by law, the other day, he appointed a Republican to a judgeship, declaring that in so doing he was appointing the best man he could find, regardless of party affiliations.

The Socialists were indignant. The party refused to indorse this and other non-Socialist appointments made by Mayor Lunn, alleging that there were more competent men in its ranks than those appointed. It was natural for the Mayor to resent this attitude toward his functions, especially as indicated by a statement from the Socialist Executive Committee of New York State as published in the daily press:

> This is not a question of jobs, so far as the Committee is concerned. Were it not that a vital organization principle is involved, the Committee would not have devoted much time to it. With it is involved the question of the right of the Socialist party to voice its opinions in matters of principles affecting a Socialist administration.
>
> The fact that the party is ready to forego the distinction of having a Socialist Mayor, and all the jobs that go with him, rather than surrender that right, is ample evidence that the distribution of jobs does not concern it.
>
> In nominating and electing Socialists to office the party does not surrender to such officials the sole right of speaking or acting in its behalf on matters connected with the administration of offices intrusted to them. The party must have the right to control their acts (the official acts of Socialists elected to office), and will always insist on that right.

This statement is as naïve as it is frank. From it we understand that a Socialist, if elected to office, may not speak and act for himself or for the people at large; otherwise he would court the party's displeasure and risk being expelled from it.

Tammany may think the same thing about those it elects to office. The Socialists have the assurance to say so. They out-Tammany Tammany!

"LAMPY"

In celebration of its completion of forty years devoted to wit, humor, satire, and fun, not unmingled at times with audacity, the "Harvard Lampoon" has issued what it calls its "Lampoon of Lampooners." It is an issue composed almost wholly of contributions—jokes and illustrations—from former editors.

It was in 1876, while Professor Charles Eliot Norton was lecturing on the Fine Arts, that Curtis, a senior, snapped a three-cornered note to his classmate Wheelwright: "Come to Sherwood's room after lecture. We are to start a college 'Punch.'" So thus was started the illustrated comic paper which has been printed more or less periodically from that day to this. The "Lampoon" may fairly well be called the progenitor of "Life," for to the first board of "Life's" editors were called

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some editors of the "Lampoon." In view of that fact, the founders must feel some weight of responsibility for the serious side of "Life." When the "Lampoon" was established, nothing was projected except a single issue; but that was so successful that a second number was soon printed. To-day, after forty years, it counts among its former editors such men as E. S. Martin, the present editor of "Life," and one of the founders of "Lampoon;" the late Curtis Guild, former Ambassador to Russia and Governor of Massachusetts; Robert Grant, the novelist and judge; Owen Wister, the novelist; William Roscoe Thayer, historian and biographer; Barrett Wendell, Professor of English at Harvard; Winthrop Ames, the Director of the New Theater; and a number of the younger men who have made reputations as writers.

"Punch" and "Life" have each a Familiar Spirit whose characteristics are well known to all readers of these two papers. "Lampy" is more generously endowed, for behind the passing crowd of undergraduate editors, artists, and business men there stand the trio of the Jester, the Slave, and the Ibis.

These avatars of "Lampy's" destiny, together with their younger and equally human colleagues, inhabit one of the most eccentric and delightful of buildings. It is a building with a personality, if there ever was one. It is both artistically and humorously sound. Lewis Carroll would have delighted in its fantasy. It is not too severe to have housed the spirit of Edward Lear, yet we doubt very much whether Sir Christopher Wren, with all his genius for line and proportion, would have denied this building its claim to architectural distinction. As a writer in the New York "Evening Sun" recently said, "the structure is hard to describe satisfactorily, except that it gives the exterior impression of a tiny doll's house or a glue pot or a beer barrel or an acorn, according to how you look at it." Its architecture is hyphenated, perhaps the largest element in its make-up being of Dutch extraction. It beats the Dutch, however, for it is like nothing on earth except itself. May "Lampy" live long and enjoy this building which he is almost good enough to deserve.

THE "BOOKMAN" COMES OF AGE

The "Bookman," which is well described by its sub-title, "An Illustrated Magazine of Literature and Life," devotes its February number to a celebration of its twenty-first anniversary.

It has been for many years one of the most authoritative and important publications in this country dealing with current literature. Indeed, no other publication covers the ground so completely. It is the current history of the literary movement in all parts of the world, and of other allied interests, such as the drama. It combines uncommon literary intelligence with the organized journalistic instinct; and it is thoroughly up to date without being out of perspective, which last is the limitation of most "up-to-date" publications. Mr. Frank Moore Colby and Mr. Arthur B. Maurice, its editors, have given it for many years past a very definite individuality both as regards editorial direction and editorial writing. It is pungent, frank, and outspoken in criticism without fear of new things, and hospitable to modern ideas and methods in literature and the drama.

Many of those methods express new points of view; one finds the spirit of youth renewing itself in faith and prophecy as it has done many times before, often dreaming vain dreams, predicting impossible things, and running a tilt without much regard for sound judgment or a sense of realities, but out of it all the vehement protestation of freedom in which many of the young poets are indulging. Some new notes have already been heard and more will be sounded in the future. There is a great deal of froth and foam, not lacking in iridescent hues, in what may be called the New Freedom of the art of writing; there are also both promise and performance; and the "Bookman" is an invaluable guide to the confused but deeply interesting and significant change of taste and freedom of spirit in the art of expression.

THE FARMER'S YEAR

The year 1915 was the most prosperous ever known by the American farmer. The value of the principal grain crops and animal products was, according to the figures of the Secretary of Agriculture, $9,873,000,000. To this should be added the minor crops and the by-products of cotton, making a total of $11,000,000,000 for the year's production of the farms. Never before has there been a billion-bushel wheat yield—1,011,505,000 bushels; and the corn crop, 3,054,535,000 bushels, has been exceeded

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but once in the Nation's history. The effect of this enormous output is seen in swelling bank deposits all through the agricultural States and in boasts of prosperity growing out of the farmers' income. Just how much of it is due to the war is scarcely realized until one goes back to the years of world peace and sees the increase in price levels for the grain and live stock. Dollar wheat has ruled throughout the wheat belt much of the year—when it did not, the farmers filled their granaries and held their product. The spectacle of mills surrounded by wheat farms shipping wheat hundreds of miles was common in the early autumn, the farmers refusing to market grain at the price then ruling.

Despite the liberal income, there has been only moderate expansion of new undertakings in the agricultural States. It has been deemed safer to place the money in banks or in sound investments than to branch out in new enterprises. The farmer is loth to admit that he has prospered by the war, but he is conscious of the possibility of a sharp readjustment when the struggle is over and the foreign market is lessened. Actually he has reaped a direct benefit, as important to him as munition-making to the Eastern manufacturer. However, it is creditable to the farmer that he is sincerely for peace, and the sentiment in the Middle West, where there has been all this added increment, is pronounced for early settlement of the war. Some striking figures are given of the increased business with Europe in war supplies from the farm. The first year of the war we sold to Europe $316,000,000 in wheat, compared with $103,595,000 in the preceding year of peace; breadstuffs, $567,607,000, as compared with $181,484,000; horses, $82,276,000, as compared with $3,177,000; mules, $18,041,000, as compared with $622,000; hay, $2,263,000, as compared with $790,000; meats and dairy products, $243,198,000, as against $138,736,000. All this goes into the eleven-billion-dollar business of the farms. The indications are that the high price level for farm products will continue many months yet—perhaps until the coming of the next crop, in which case we shall have another year's rich income added to the already swollen bank deposits of the agricultural States. Certainly there should be no complaint from the farmer as to his share in the business created by the devastation of Europe.

THE "MANCHU LAW"

In attempting to remedy one evil legislators sometimes create another. The Congress that in 1912 passed what is known as the "Detached Service Law" succeeded in establishing greater equality of opportunity in the army for officers to enjoy the advantages of what are known as "desk jobs"—that is, assignments to department work or American embassies abroad. This law prevents the favoritism by which formerly a few officers sometimes were enabled to monopolize these comfortable positions at the expense of their brothers in the field. But the law is responsible for an evil which seems as great as the one abolished.

Lieutenant Sherman Miles, whose father is Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles, retired, has just been recalled from the post of American military attaché to Russia because under the Detached Service Law he is no longer eligible to serve in that capacity. This piece of legislation, familiarly known to the army as the "Manchu Law," prescribes that no officer under the rank of major is available for detached service unless he has spent two of the next preceding six years on duty with his troop, company, or battery. Therefore at most an officer may have only four consecutive years of detached service, and, moreover, any time through which a man is sick or on leave during his two years of active duty is subtracted from his period of eligibility for service away from his army unit.

Turning to the case in point, Lieutenant Miles must now leave Russia, despite the fact that he is of much greater value there as a military observer than an inexperienced successor could possibly be. Lieutenant Miles "knows the ropes," and has gained the confidence of the Russians to a remarkable degree both for his talent as an officer and for his integrity as a gentleman. He is the only neutral military attaché who has been allowed at the front, and his reports of what he has seen are of great value to our army. But he has been drawn home by red tape.

This law has also worked evil at West Point. Formerly instructors at the Military Academy were able to serve four years at least, but the "Manchu Law" has reduced the average term to about three years. For the avoidance of such evil conditions as this law was aimed to remedy we ought to rely not on legislation but on intelligent administrative regulations within the army. The "Manchu Law" ought to be repealed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CITIZEN SOLDIERY

Among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defense will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace. A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite; and their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactories as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly military, supplies.—*George Washington's First Annual Address.*

These three sentences embody the whole doctrine of preparedness. Preparedness, to be an effectual means of preserving peace, requires:

A people armed and disciplined—a citizen soldiery.

A well-digested National plan.

A civil industry so organized as to make America self-supporting.

A military industry so organized as to make America self-protecting.

And this means universal service under Federal control.

Democracy governs itself and educates itself; it should also protect itself. It should not depend upon a paid professional army to protect it.

We do not elect a few men to govern us. We elect a few men to represent us: legislators to formulate in adequate laws the decisions we have reached at the polls; executives to carry out those decisions by administering and enforcing such laws. The people decide whether they will have free silver or a gold currency, a high tariff or a low tariff, the regulation of big business or the disorganization of big business, prepared protection against war or unpreparedness. Legislators and executives simply carry these decisions into effect.

We do not educate a learned class to think for us, such as the priests of mediæval Europe or the mandarins of China. We provide for the education of all the people, that the people may think for themselves. And we *require* the children to go to school, the parents to send their children to school, and the industries to arrange their business so that children shall not be prevented from going to school.

Democracy requires that a people who govern themselves and educate themselves should be so "armed and disciplined" that they can protect themselves. It requires a citizen soldiery. And this involves universal military training and service.

Such discipline would be of great advantage to the moral character and the industrial efficiency of American youth. It would cultivate in them a habit of prompt obedience and the spirit of team work. The more patriotic American, much as he admires the energy, enterprise, and independence of the American youth, cannot avoid at times thinking of him in the terms of Rudyard Kipling's line:

'E don't obey no orders unless they is 'is own.

Only in a few homes is prompt obedience required. Only to a limited degree is the habit of prompt obedience cultivated in the school. The boys have done something to cultivate the spirit of team work by their voluntary athletics; but only a minority get this training. Organized industry does something to compel team work, but not much to inspire it. Corporations and labor unions do something to develop it, but it is team work for a class, not for the community. It is not easy to conceive of anything which would do more to develop these two needed virtues—prompt obedience and team work—than universal military service. General Wood tells us that in this country the murder rate is 124 per million; in Switzerland it is 12 per million. What is the cause of this difference? One cause is the American vice of self-will. What is the remedy for this defect? One valuable remedy would be the soldier's habit of respect for authority and of regard for the comrade at his side.

What is the objection to the creation of a citizen soldiery? Conscription? This is not conscription. The difference is fundamental. Conscription waits till war begins and then forces untrained men to face the enemy and at great cost of life to learn the art of the soldier while under fire; universal military service, on the other hand, trains men in time of peace and without the cost of bloodshed creates a soldiery that may never be called to war. Dislocation of civil life? Switzerland and Australia both have universal military service (as described elsewhere in this number), and in neither is there any more dislocation of civil life than in the United States, for the training is carried on as a part of every young man's education before he becomes a producer. Peril to liberty? Switzer-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

land and Australia both have universal military service, and in both there is quite as stalwart a love of liberty as in the United States. A great standing army is a peril to liberty, for it may be used by an unscrupulous executive against a people who are unarmed and undisciplined. But a people armed and disciplined for their own defense are not a peril to themselves.

Is there, then, a danger of developing in America the spirit of militarism? American liberty does not indicate the presence in the American character of the military microbe. In the American Revolution General Washington's greatest difficulty was the unscrupulous politician at the Capitol; his next greatest difficulty was the eagerness of his soldiers to doff their uniforms and go back to their farms and their shops. General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox on April 9, 1865. That spring the soldiers both of the North and South were in their fields plowing their land and sowing their seed.

The perils to the American character are not from the ambition for military glory, but from the more sordid ambition for industrial success. One effective means of counteracting the real peril from a too selfish industrialism would be universal military training. It would put the son of the millionaire and the son of the porter side by side in the same camp. It would dampen, if it did not destroy, respect for wealth and inspire respect for character. It would develop in the men of both classes a spirit of mutual respect. It would, for the time being, substitute a spirit of co-operation for a spirit of competition. It would break down the class walls between rich and poor, as the public school is breaking down the ecclesiastical walls between Catholic and Protestant, between Jew and Gentile. And, if war should come, universal service would make it absolutely impossible for the rich man to hire the poor man to do his fighting for him. It is not easy to suggest any better way to promote a universal democratic spirit than to require all able-bodied men to share equally the personal responsibility for the defense of their country and to meet together on equal terms in camp and field during the formative period of their lives. The most democratic institution in America is the public school. The next is the college. In some respects a brief period of universal service in camp and field repeated for several seasons would surpass both college and public school in its democratic unifying influence.

Decidedly The Outlook favors Washington's call for a free people armed and disciplined as a preparedness for peace and against war.

WATER POWER AS A NATURAL RESOURCE

There appears elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook an article by Mr. Hugh L. Cooper, a well-known American water power engineer, on the relations of Government to the development of natural water powers. There are certain non-technical phases of the water power problem which should be borne in mind in considering Mr. Cooper's article. We propose here to state these phases categorically and as briefly as we can.

Water Power and Wealth. There is a mistaken but not uncommon notion that a great water power is an unalloyed source of wealth—that money is to be picked out of it as diamonds have been picked out of some of the surface mines in Africa. On the contrary, the development of a modern water power demands great risks and great virtues from those who turn it into an engine of industrial efficiency. They must possess hope, faith, patience, courage, and intellectual skill, and must often jeopardize large sums of money before they even know whether their work will succeed.

The Difficulties of Water Power Development. In the alcogravure pictorial section of this issue will be found two pictures which illustrate some of the difficulties that the builders of American water powers have to contend with. There are not always physical difficulties, but sometimes great financial risks. A water power is now in process of investigation in the mountainous region of one of the Pacific Coast States. No previously constructed works have faced such difficult conditions of depth and flow of water as are here imposed by nature. The geological formation of the bed below this volume and depth of water must be thoroughly investigated before the great dam can be built. The problem is how to get at the bed of the stream, which is so far below the surface of the water that it cannot be reached from above. The promoters are driving on the river bank a vertical shaft 195 feet deep, from the bottom of which a horizontal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tunnel 225 feet long will be driven about fifty feet below the bed of the stream. From this tunnel borings will be made upward as well as downward to show the constituents of the available rock for foundation purposes. It is not only work which is dangerous to life and limb, but it involves the expenditure of about $100,000. The result of this exploration may show that the building of a great water power dam is impracticable. If this should be the case, the preliminary investment of $100,000 will be entirely lost. This illustrates some of the risks which water power developers have to undergo.

Competition. Another popular notion is that when a water power is once constructed it costs so little to run it that the power developed ought to be by far the cheapest in the world. The facts do not support this view. An article in the "Electrical World" for January 15, by Mr. H. W. Buck, a hydroelectrical engineer of wide experience and established reputation, discloses the fact that steam power is a very keen competitor of water power. The old undershot and overshot water-wheels on the rivers and streams of New England, which made that section in the early part of the last century the great manufacturing center of the United States, have now practically been ousted by the steam-engine. The mechanical improvement of furnaces and boilers and the introduction of steam turbine engines have steadily reduced the relative cost of steam power. Steam power is movable. Water powers are fixed. Steam power can be taken to the factory. The factory must be taken to the water power. The effect of steam power competition on water power is shown in the figures of the United States Census. In forty years, from 1870 to 1910, the total steam-generated horse-power in the United States has increased much more rapidly than the water generated horse-power. The steady improvement of the methods of transmission of electricity are now beginning to enable American coal mines to use what was formerly unmarketable refuse for fuel to produce at the mine steam-generated electricity, which is distributed long distances to the factory, municipal and individual consumer.

The Interest of the Public. The public needs both steam power and water power. It is to the interest of the whole country that our water power should be developed as rapidly and as efficiently as possible. This development can be carried on only in one of two ways—either by Government ownership and operation or by the employment of private capital worked under the incentive of private property. Nobody but a visionary proposes to-day that the Government should build and operate water power plants. Some system must therefore be devised for the development of water powers as a natural resource by private genius and private capital.

Dangers to the Public. By their very inherent nature water powers are monopolistic. There is only one Niagara, one Mississippi, one Columbia River. Experts can almost mathematically tell how many spots there are in the United States capable of water power development. The company that controls the Keokuk dam on the Mississippi controls the water power of several hundred square miles, while a thousand companies can build steam power plants in the same territory. When steam railways, which through their terminal facilities and trackage are necessarily monopolistic, were introduced into the United States, their control was grasped by individuals and groups of private citizens who used the monopolies in many instances for selfish ends. We are just beginning to emerge from the overwhelming social, industrial, and financial evils into which the country was plunged by unregulated private control of railway monopolies. The public is determined that similar evils shall not be allowed to germinate in the development of water power monopolies. It is this danger of selfish, private monopoly which the Federal legislation of the last ten years has been designed to avert.

The Justice of Federal Regulation. That the Federal Government possesses the power to regulate hydroelectric plants is not open to debate. That power is exerted to-day and is confirmed by the Supreme Court. Nor do we think it is debatable whether Federal control is preferable to State control. The rights of water power builders as well as of the public can be better protected by a central authority than by the conflicting authority of forty-eight different States.

But the Federal authority must be as just to the builders of and investors in water powers as to the consuming public. This justice to both sides can be maintained if the following principles are observed in water power legislation:

The Government owns and should retain the ownership of all public lands on which water powers are built.

The water power owners should be tenants

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only, and the relation of the Government to the water power owner should be that of landlord to tenant.

The lease should be long enough to justify the water power owners in investing their capital, and short enough to enable the landlord to protect his interests by re-leasing the property.

A water power company should either have the opportunity to re-lease at the expiration of the term agreed upon or the Government should buy the plant and improvements at a fair market valuation to be determined at the time.

The water power men and the executive officers of the Government are in general agreement as to these principles. They also generally agree that a term of fifty years is a reasonable period for the duration of the lease. There is, however, vigorous disagreement as to one other principle which is essential to this question.

Shall the water power builders as tenants pay any rent to the Government?

On the one hand, representatives of the water power builders say that no rent is necessary, and that any rent imposed will be charged inevitably to the consumer. If the Government wishes, therefore, to protect the consumer, they urge that it should charge no rent.

On the other hand, there are some legislators who, under what we believe to be the mistaken impression that the profits of the water power industry are beyond the dreams of avarice, would charge a very high rent in order to cut those profits down. The just course seems to us to be a middle one. Some rent should be charged in order to make the analogy of landlord and tenant clear, and to form the basis of a leasing contract which shall give the Federal Government effective control over the social, industrial, and financial operations of the water power companies. This rent should be nominal to avoid danger of increasing the cost to the public, but it should be real in order to establish the fact that the water power companies are tenants and not perpetual owners.

No officer of the Government has given a greater amount of thought or shown a more practical wisdom in dealing with the water power question than Secretary Lane, of the Department of the Interior. His attitude is based, we believe, upon the general principles which we have here endeavored to set forth. We hope they will be embodied in the legislation of the present Congress.

NOT THE MAILED FIST, BUT THE FIRM HAND

Our attention has been called to an editorial in the "Frankfurter Zeitung" of December 24 last which very properly calls upon The Outlook to explain the source of a paragraph in The Outlook of December 1, attributing to the "Frankfurter Zeitung" certain sentences which that paper states—and states truly, we fully believe—never did appear in its columns. The German paper is kind enough to refer to The Outlook as "one of the most esteemed of American publications," but uses our error (quite illogically, it seems to us) as an occasion for denouncing the American press at large. "Can one wonder," it exclaims, "at the vulgarity of the daily press of a country whose most distinguished [but] mistaken journals . . . are capable of such knavish tricks?" The "Zeitung" further comments: "It is a saving of time to add that during the whole of the war The Outlook has shown itself, as a member of the American Entente ring, to be one of the most passionate of German-haters, and incapable of any unpartisan feeling." We have deliberately quoted the "Frankfurter Zeitung's" angriest words, because it has, in a measure, a just grievance, but we will once more record the fact that The Outlook hates neither Germans nor Germany, but it does hate and will always denounce Germany's violation of Belgium, Germany's murder of innocent non-combatants, and Germany's autocratic militarism, which recognizes no rights in others and almost deifies its own might.

As to the sentences wrongly ascribed to the Frankfort journal, we admit reprehensible carelessness, but deny the crime of forgery or even the fault of intentional misrepresentation. The facts are these: The passage in dispute appeared in cabled press despatches in one or more New York daily papers, and was probably published in other papers. We should have said: "The 'Frankfurter Zeitung,' as quoted in the press despatches," as it is our custom to do in such cases; but we unhappily neglected to do this, and thereby violated a fundamental rule of journalism: "Always state your source of information." We owe the "Frankfurter Zeitung" an apology, and here tender it.

The press despatch was undoubtedly an exaggerated and unfair rendering of passages which appeared in the "Frankfurter Zeitung"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of November 15 last in an article by Mr. E. C. Rassbach. A valued reader of The Outlook kindly sends us a typewritten copy of the article in the German form, and we translate the two passages which were distorted in the cable despatches:

Few events of the present war have caused such deep and widespread feeling of bitterness in Germany as the attitude of the United States. It is impossible at the present time to say whether this plausible aversion will have any influence upon the relations between the two countries after the war. Should this, however, come about, it would be deplorable from the standpoint both of world culture and the economic development of Germany, for the demands of the present struggle will require after the war a period of rest and recuperation which would be seriously impaired by economic conflicts. . . .

As to the proper understanding of rights and duties, of the position of Germany in Europe, and of the necessity in that connection, only time, a great, important, well-aimed work of enlightenment, and if necessary a firm hand [wrongly translated "the mailed fist" in the version published in The Outlook] in dealing with American Chauvinism, will lead us to the goal, together with very much patience and indulgence for certain weaknesses of the state and the national character.

There is certainly a great difference between a mailed fist and a firm hand, but we may hope that such dealing with "American Chauvinism" as may be necessary may be exercised by America and not by Germany.

THE MAKING OF CITIZEN SOLDIERS

HOW IT IS DONE IN SWITZERLAND AND AUSTRALIA

IN attempting to solve the problem of defending the United States it is natural that critics of our present system, or lack of system, should turn first of all to the study of those democratic countries which have had to face the same question which is confronting us to-day. France, republican in government, has indeed a truly democratic army, but one the organization and service requirements of which are planned along the lines of monarchically minded Germany. England only a short while before the war began was attempting to work out the problem which is pressing so closely home to us here in America. Her method in the past has been the American method—a professional army and a voluntarily organized body of militia. It is, perhaps, from England's mistakes more than from her successes, then, that we can learn. It would be well for us to remember, however, that her "Territorials" have been under but one head, while our organized militia has really represented the armies of forty-eight separate and sovereign States. Canada, too, has had her voluntarily enlisted militia, but her more centralized government has also given her an advantage in the control and organization of this militia which the United States has not possessed. There remain for consideration and comparison the two democracies whose systems of defense seem best suited to American ideals and American needs. It need hardly be said that these two democracies are Switzerland and Australia. In order to appreciate and compare the systems of these two countries it is well to consider how the problems which they have had to solve differ from or resemble the problems which confront the United States.

The menace to Switzerland's security is one which requires a means of meeting sudden and powerful attack. Her neighbors are close at hand, her territory is compact, her terrain remarkably well adapted to defensive operations, and her people have been trained by tradition and experience to know that liberty is not the fruit of indolence or inertia.

Unlike Switzerland, the problem of Australia is continental in size. This English dominion, organized, like America, as a federation of states, each possessing strong traditions of independence and sovereignty, nevertheless has had the wisdom to place the control of its military and its naval defenses under the single head of its Federal Government. The population of Australia, almost completely British in extraction, has been passing through many of the same stages of development which have marked the progress of the United States. The bulk of Australia's population is concentrated on the seaboard, as was the early population of the United States. Her citizens are individualists of the type of the pioneer in all countries. Living conditions range from those to be found in cities like Sydney and Melbourne, of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more than half a million, to those found in the almost trackless interior. The menace against which Australia has armed is one which must of necessity come across the sea. Her chief international problems have arisen from her fear of invasion or settlement at the hands of a race alien in custom and tradition to her own Anglo-Saxon inhabitants. Australians in this have much in common with citizens of our Pacific slope.

It will be seen at once that the problems of Australia are much more nearly those of the United States than are the problems of Switzerland. It is natural to expect, then, that the means which Australia has taken for her defense would be those most deserving of attention in America.

THE SWISS SYSTEM OF TRAINING

Both the Australian and the Swiss systems have been very adequately summarized in reports collected by our War Department and published as public documents.[1] From this collection of reports the following statement has been constructed:

In Switzerland universal education to the age of fifteen is compulsory, and during this period simple gymnastic exercises under the direction of a schoolmaster are required of all pupils as a preparation for military service. Apart from this obligatory work there are almost everywhere volunteer cadet corps, composed of boys from eleven to sixteen, in which the future defenders of the Republic of Switzerland can practice the manual of arms, marching drills, and setting-up exercises. Each corps adopts its own uniform. The Federal Government furnishes a light musket and a certain amount of ammunition for target practice. Professional officers of the regular establishment serve as instructors for these corps, and the state gives a subvention of five francs to each cadet soldier whose marksmanship comes up to a certain standard.

When the Swiss boy has reached the age of sixteen, he may, if he chooses, become a member of a more formal military organization operating on the same lines as the cadet corps, except that the regular army musket is supplied and that more attention is paid to target practice. Gymnastics and shooting are the two chief requirements of these older preparatory military organizations. The upbuilding of the body and the mind, rather than the inculcation of machine-like discipline, is the object sought. The state gives no money support to these organizations, but furnishes arms and ammunition. It may be interesting for Americans to note that, as is the case with the cadet corps of which we have already spoken, the target practice of these older military organizations takes place on Sunday.

When the Swiss boy becomes twenty years of age, about midsummer, he must present himself for active military service. Following a severe physical examination, which eliminates nearly fifty per cent of those taking the test, and an equally severe examination in the three R's and the history and geography of Switzerland, the recruit is given his soldier's register. If he fails in the mental examination, he must attend school until he reports for military duty the following spring.

When the next spring or summer comes, our Swiss recruit receives a notice to report at the training ground of his own district. There are in Switzerland eight such training grounds for infantry—one for each infantry division of the army, located in the district from which the division is recruited. The artillery, cavalry, and engineers have separate training grounds. Each training school comprises targets, storehouses, rifle range, and training grounds ample for a regiment of infantry.

When the recruit reports for duty, he is fitted out with uniform and equipment complete in every particular for field service and a military rifle. When he has completed his training, he takes his full equipment home with him and keeps it until the end of his military service, at the age of fifty. Whenever he is called to military duty, he must present himself, fully equipped, and if anything is lacking he can be fined and imprisoned.

These recruit schools are under the command of professional soldiers, of whom there are about two hundred in Switzerland's corps of permanent military instructors. Under these professional soldiers, working with a body of trained non-commissioned officers to assist them, the new recruits are divided into companies, sections, and squads, much as is the fourth class at West Point, or as were the Plattsburgh "rookies" at last year's summer camp.

In the training of infantry, for instance, the first and longest part of the school period is devoted to the instruction of the individual soldier, the squad, and the section. The next part is devoted to the training of the several companies, and the last week of

[1] Senate Document 796, Sixty-third Congress, Third Session.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the school to the training of the entire school battalion as a unit. With certain exceptions, the schools for infantry last sixty-five days, the schools for cavalry ninety days, and the artillery schools seventy-five days. With the exception of Sunday, every day of this training period means for the recruit at least eight hours' hard work. Besides outdoor exercises, the men are taught to keep their kit and arms in proper condition, to cook, and are given simple instructions in hygiene and the military regulations and the theory of shooting. During his time in the recruit school the soldier is rationed and housed and receives ten cents a day pay. At the end of his training the recruit is sent home, assigned to a battalion, and has no further service with the colors except for a short period of annual training during his service with the *élite* or active army of Switzerland. This period of annual training consists of an annual course of fourteen days for the artillery and fortification troops, and of eleven days for all other arms of the service. Privates and corporals are only required to serve eight such repetition courses during the time of their service in the *élite*. The *élite* is composed of all men physically and mentally fit between the ages of twenty and thirty-two, except in the cavalry, where the age limit is thirty. After passing from the *élite* the soldier becomes a member of the *Landwehr*, the first division of which, from thirty-three to thirty-nine, may be called to take its place in the first line with the *élite*, and the second division of which can be used to garrison fortresses and escort supply columns. When a man reaches forty-five he passes into the *Landsturm*, which does no military service except in time of war.

This brief summary covers the work required of the man destined to remain a private during the course of his military career. If the recruit, however, is above the average in intelligence and is ambitious, at the close of his recruit training he is listed as a man suitable for the position of a non-commissioned officer. The next year he is ordered to attend a four weeks' training camp, where he learns to command a squad, a section, or a platoon. He drills other men and in turn is drilled by them under the watchful eye of regular instructors and with the advantage of working with corporals and sergeants who have already passed through the mill. The corporals and sergeants who have already received their training in previous years form the *cadre* or organization framework of these schools for non-commissioned officers. These men usually go home after their four weeks' work with a promotion of one grade to their credit.

Having become a corporal, the recruit can aspire to a commission, second lieutenants being appointed from the whole body of non-commissioned officers. He must, however, spend at least seven weeks as a corporal or sergeant as a part of the *cadre* of a battalion in the recruit school for privates to which we have already referred. If this work is satisfactorily completed, he becomes eligible for the officers' school, to which he may either be ordered or request an assignment. From this point on the officer, if he passes successfully through a series of tests and training periods, may hope to reach ultimately the command of a division of militia.

This training which the citizen of Switzerland receives from his Government is vitally assisted by the fact that rifle shooting in Switzerland occupies the place which baseball does in the United States as a national sport.

The origin of the present Swiss shooting clubs and of target shooting as a national sport dates back to an early law which decreed that every Swiss citizen must be ready to defend his country and that he should be furnished by the state with a suitable musket and ammunition for learning its use. If shooting clubs existed in the United States in the same proportion that they exist in Switzerland, they would include nearly five million citizens in their membership.

AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM OF DEFENSE

In Australia, as in Switzerland, primary education is compulsory. In most of the Australian states children have in the past been required to remain in the free public schools until the age of fourteen. This requirement has already, or will shortly, become universal. As in America, public schools are to be found even in thinly populated districts, and they are attended by three-fourths of the children of the country. The other one-fourth attend private schools, the majority of which are maintained by the churches.

When the time came for the reorganization of the military system of Australia, the Commonwealth Government was prepared to undertake a system of military training for boys of school age, but the fact was recognized that it would be better if this could be done by the schools directly. Hav-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing no power to legislate so as to throw the duty of this training upon school-teachers, it was provided that training by them should be accepted as a sufficient compliance with the laws of the Commonwealth, subject to a federal system of inspection. Grants were made to all schools complying with this requirement. If such a system of military training as has been installed in the public schools of Wyoming should be adopted throughout the United States, perhaps it might be made the basis of a federal and universal service somewhat after this Australian plan.

On July 1 of his thirteenth year every Australian boy who has been officially declared physically, mentally, and morally fit starts his training as a junior cadet. He is furnished with hat, shirt, breeches, puttees, and shoes, and is given a minimum of ninety hours' elementary military training for each of the two years. To this training must be given not less than fifteen minutes per day. This training includes infantry squad drill and any two of the following subjects: miniature rifle shooting, swimming, running exercises in organized sports, and first aid to the injured.

When the Australian boy is fourteen years of age he becomes a senior cadet, and it is during his service as a senior cadet that he receives his fundamental military training. This training consists of an annual minimum of four four-hour drills, twelve two-hour drills, and twenty-four one-hour drills, in marching, discipline, handling of arms, physical drills, and carrying out of minor military tactics. A cadet rifle and belt are added to the boy's junior uniform, and ten per cent of the best shots are given target practice with the regular service rifle.

As a senior cadet the Australian boy is part of a definite military organization. Senior cadets are formed into companies, one hundred and twenty strong, and all the companies in each of the training areas into which Australia is divided are formed into a battalion. Since, however, this battalion seldom assembles as a whole, the battalion staff is limited to a commanding officer and an adjutant. Towards the end of his period as a senior cadet—that is, the year in which he reaches the age of eighteen—each senior cadet is brought before a medical officer of his training area and, upon examination, is classed either as fit or unfit for active military service. Thus in many cases students who ultimately prove unfit for active military service in time of war nevertheless are not precluded from a large amount of the invaluable training and discipline which is given from the ages of twelve to eighteen.

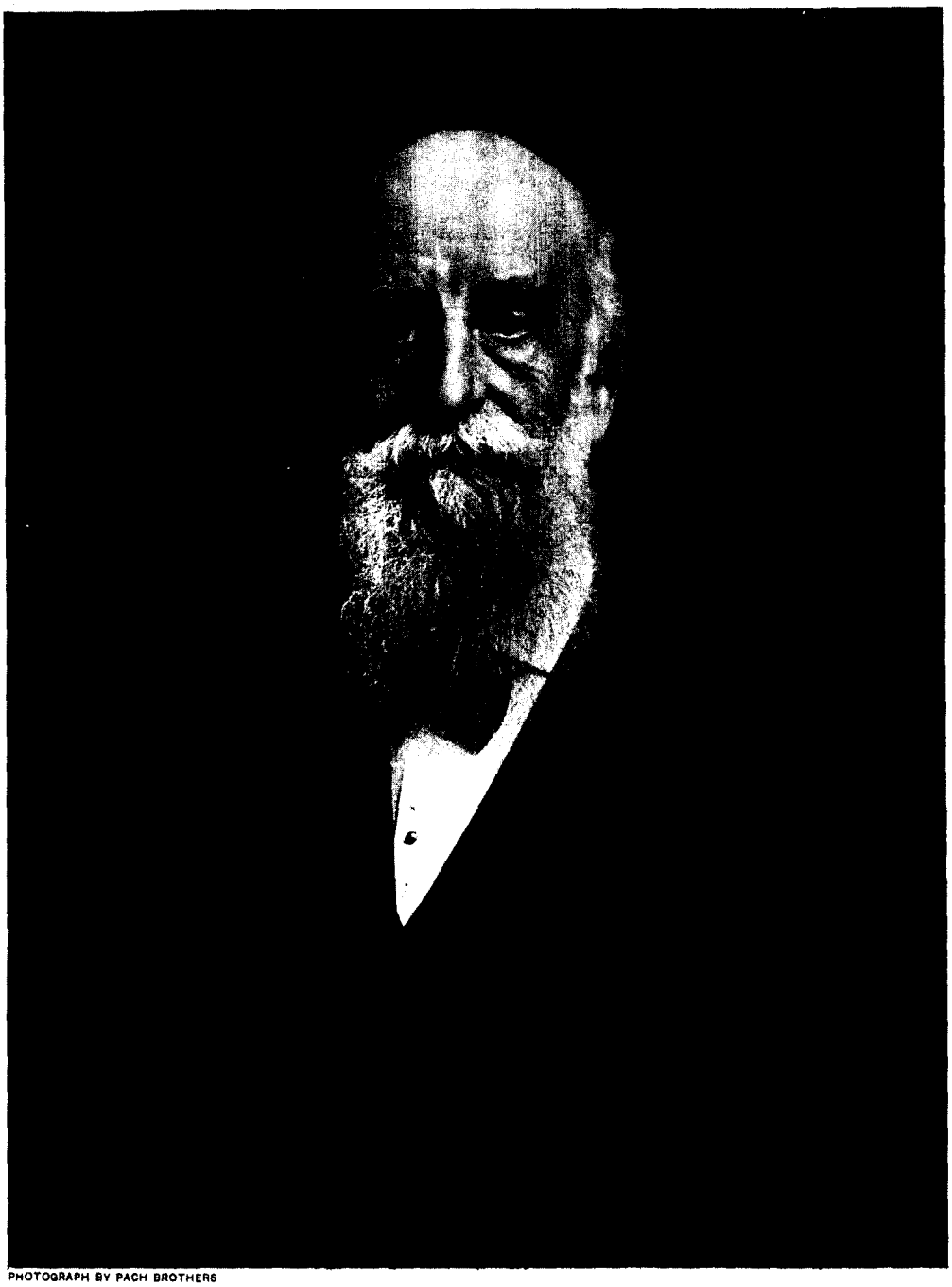
Having passed his physical and moral examination, the senior cadet is assigned to that arm of the citizen forces to which he seems best fitted and in which he is most interested. The Australian recruit having had a more extended military training than his Swiss brother before the latter's entrance into the *élite*, it has so far not been thought necessary to require of the Australian soldier an extended period of training in a recruit school. For the first seven years of his service in the citizen forces he receives not less than sixteen whole days' training a year (of which not less than eight whole days must be counted in annual camps or maneuvers), and must obtain a real classification of "efficient" at an annual test or suffer the penalty of longer service. In his twenty-sixth year the Australian is required to attend one muster parade only, and is then discharged from active service. He remains subject to recall to the colors in time of war until he becomes sixty years of age. All promotions are made from the ranks and based on merit.

Naturally enough, such a system of training depends on something more than the spontaneous combustion of patriotism for its organization and effectiveness. Australia has, first of all, a Minister of State for Defense, who is responsible to Parliament for both the navy and the army of the Commonwealth. He is advised on matters connected with naval and military policy and expenditure by a Council of Defense, consisting of himself as president, the Treasurer of the Commonwealth, two naval officers, two military officers, and the Consulting Military Engineer. Of this board the permanent head of the Defense Department is secretary. It will be seen at once how closely this resembles the plan for a Council of National Defense which has been so often recommended for the United States. The purely military forces of Australia are controlled and administered by a Military Board consisting of the Minister of State for Defense, the Chief of the General Staff, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, the Chief of Ordnance, the Finance Member, and a secretary from the office of the permanent head of the Defense Department. There is also an Inspector-General of the military forces, whose business it is to review and to report to the

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Current Events Pictorially Treated



PHOTOGRAPH BY PACH BROTHERS

LYMAN ABBOTT, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE OUTLOOK

We have had several requests from our readers for the publication in The Outlook of a portrait of its Editor-in-Chief, Dr. Lyman Abbott, in connection with the recent eightieth anniversary of his birthday. In response to these requests, and without the knowledge of Dr. Abbott himself, his associates are glad to take this opportunity of presenting to the readers of The Outlook this reproduction of a characteristic portrait.—THE EDITORS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COPYRIGHT BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

JOSEPH H. CHOATE ON HIS EIGHTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY

If Mr. Choate ever made any enemies, he has outlived them all; it is safe to say that all Americans wish him many happy returns of the day which he has just celebrated as the eighty-fourth anniversary of his birth. His years are full of honor, and his long life has been notable no less for distinguished public services than for those kindly deeds which endear a man to his personal associates and illuminate his features with his characteristic spirit

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHOTOGRAPH BY OE W. C. WARD

LINCOLN

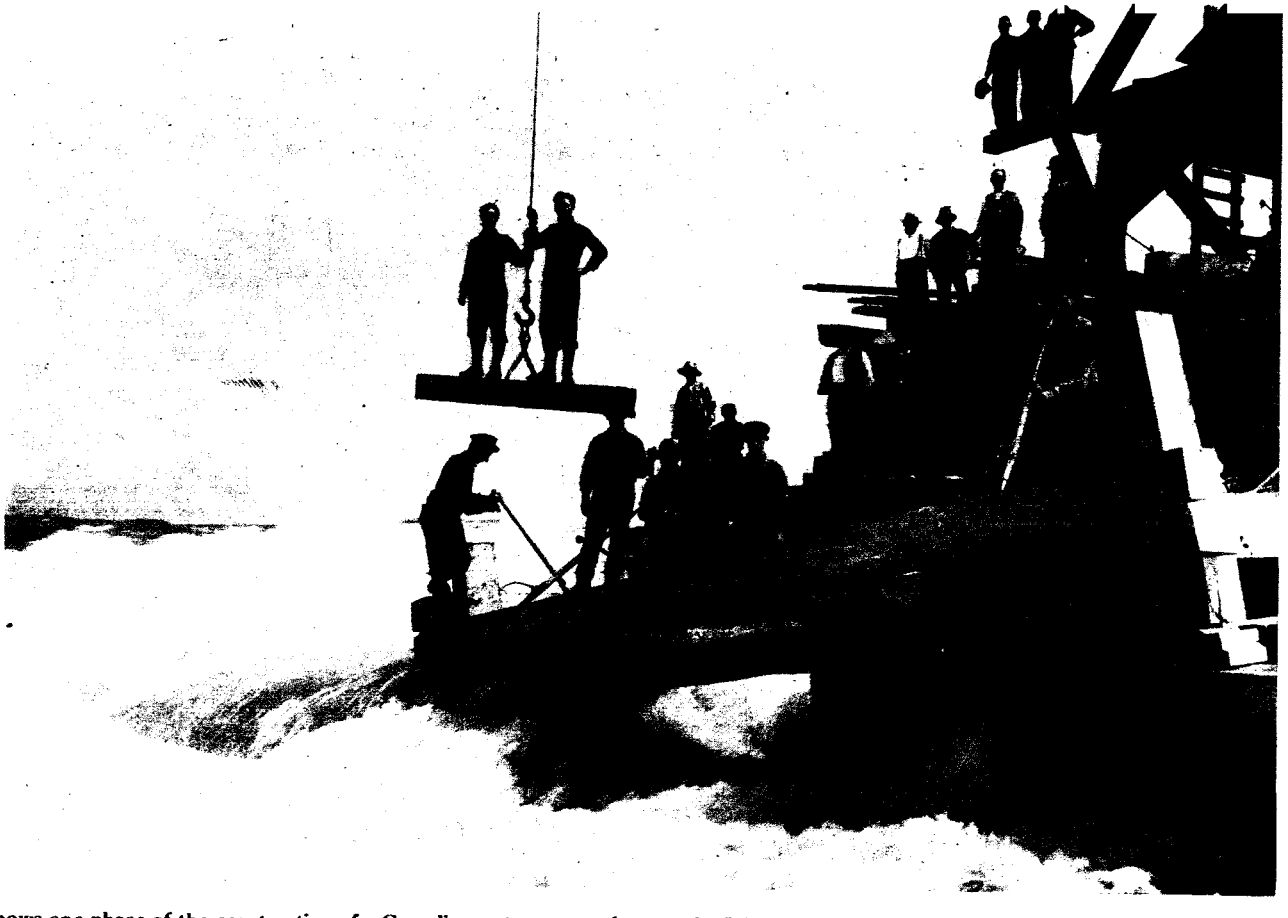
The birthday of the great President, February 12, makes appropriate the printing of the above picture of Saint-Gaudens's fine statue in Lincoln Park, Chicago. Many critics regard this statue as perhaps the most satisfying work of the kind in existence. In connection with this anniversary attention is called to the article in this issue by F. S. Nadal entitled "Abraham Lincoln: Some Recollections and Comparisons"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GREAT WATER POWER PLANTS AND THE DIFFICULTIES THAT BESET THEIR CONSTRUCTION

The pictures on this and the following page, published through the courtesy of Mr. Hugh L. Cooper, author of the article entitled "Water Power," published elsewhere in this issue, graphically illustrate the difficulties that engineers, workmen, and financial backers have to deal with in constructing water power plants This picture shows the great dam at Keokuk, Iowa, on the Mississippi, under construction. The cofferdam, which is the temporary dam to hold the water back while the permanent structures are being built, was 25 feet 6 inches high. The unexpected and unprecedented ice pack shown in the picture formed in ten minutes on one winter's day. If the cofferdam had been six inches lower, the whole structure would have gone out, entailing a loss of $1,000,000

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



This picture shows one phase of the construction of a Canadian water power plant on the Niagara River in the rapids above the Falls. The power of the rushing water is impossible of comprehension to those who have not seen it themselves. The workmen in this picture have been, most of them, for many years engaged in this kind of work. They began to be afraid that the cribs (that is to say, the timber work of which the cofferdam is made) were trembling and were not strong enough and that they would be washed out and go over Niagara Falls with themselves in the wreck. The chief engineer assured them of the safety of the cribs, but they were not convinced until he personally placed a glass of water out on the farthest point of the crib work and asked them to go out and look at this glass of water. When they found that the water in the glass did not tremble, they were assured of the solidity of the cribs, went back to work and finished the job

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COURTESY OF THE MACBETH GALLERY, NEW YORK

THE KITCHEN DOOR

"The Kitchen Door" is by Mr. F. C. Frieseke, an American painter whose work as exhibited at the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco received the Grand Prize for Painting, the highest honor that was conferred by the international jury

PICTURES FROM TWO RECENT ART

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COURTESY OF PRATT INSTITUTE, BROOKLYN

THE WINDOW SEAT

This picture is by Mr. Joseph H. Boston, instructor of the Evening Class for Men in the Brooklyn Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Associate Member of the National Academy of Design

EXHIBITIONS IN NEW YORK CITY

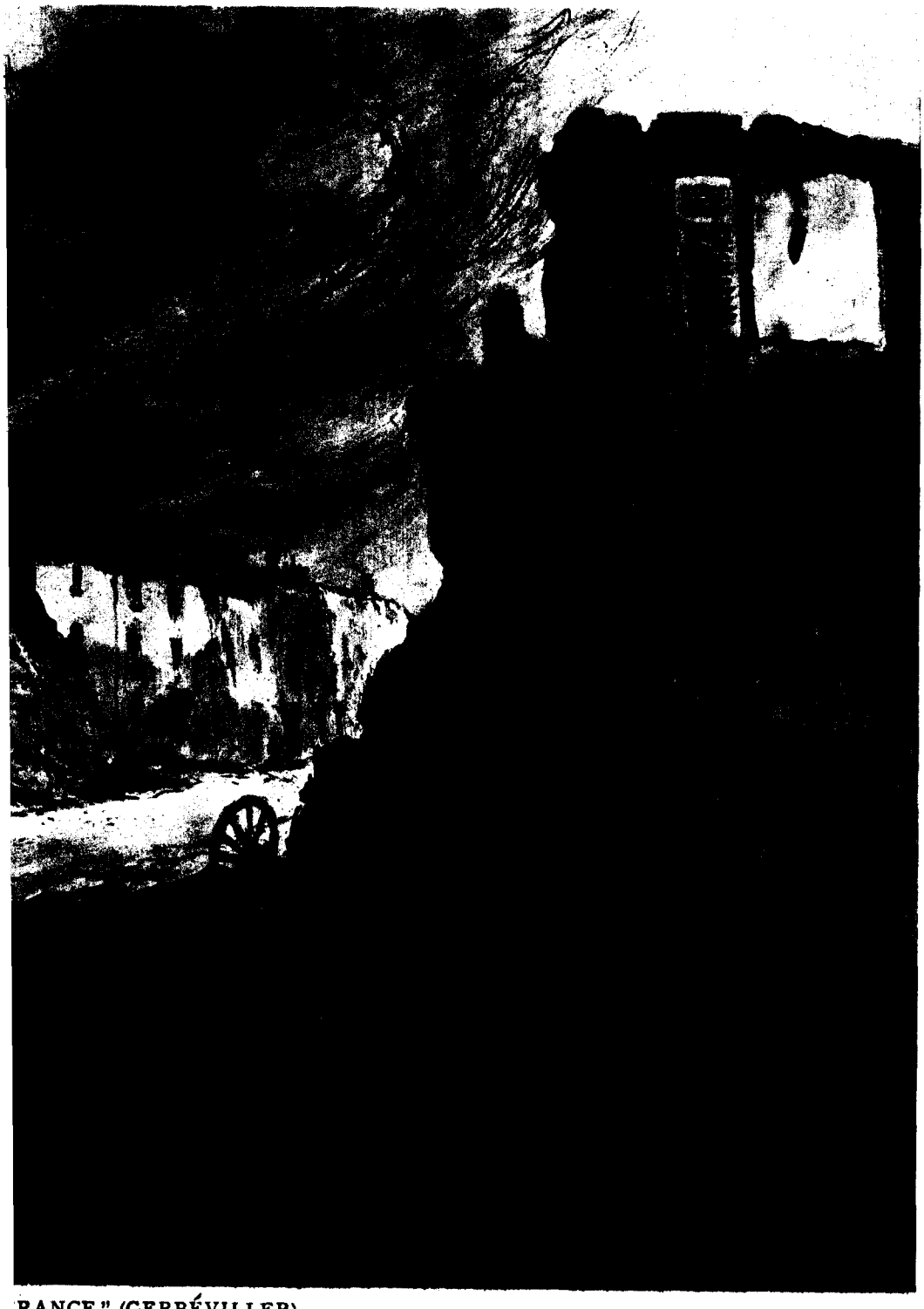
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COURTESY OF L'ILLUSTRATION

"A VILLAGE SOMEW

This striking picture by M. Georges Scott represents a spectacle unhappily now too frequently seen
parts of their country, appropriately recall the words of Lincoln in his Gettysburg Speech, "It is for us
that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



RANCE" (GERBÉVILLER)

olated by war. Patriotic Frenchmen might at this time, looking at this representation of the devastation of ated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to e here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain"

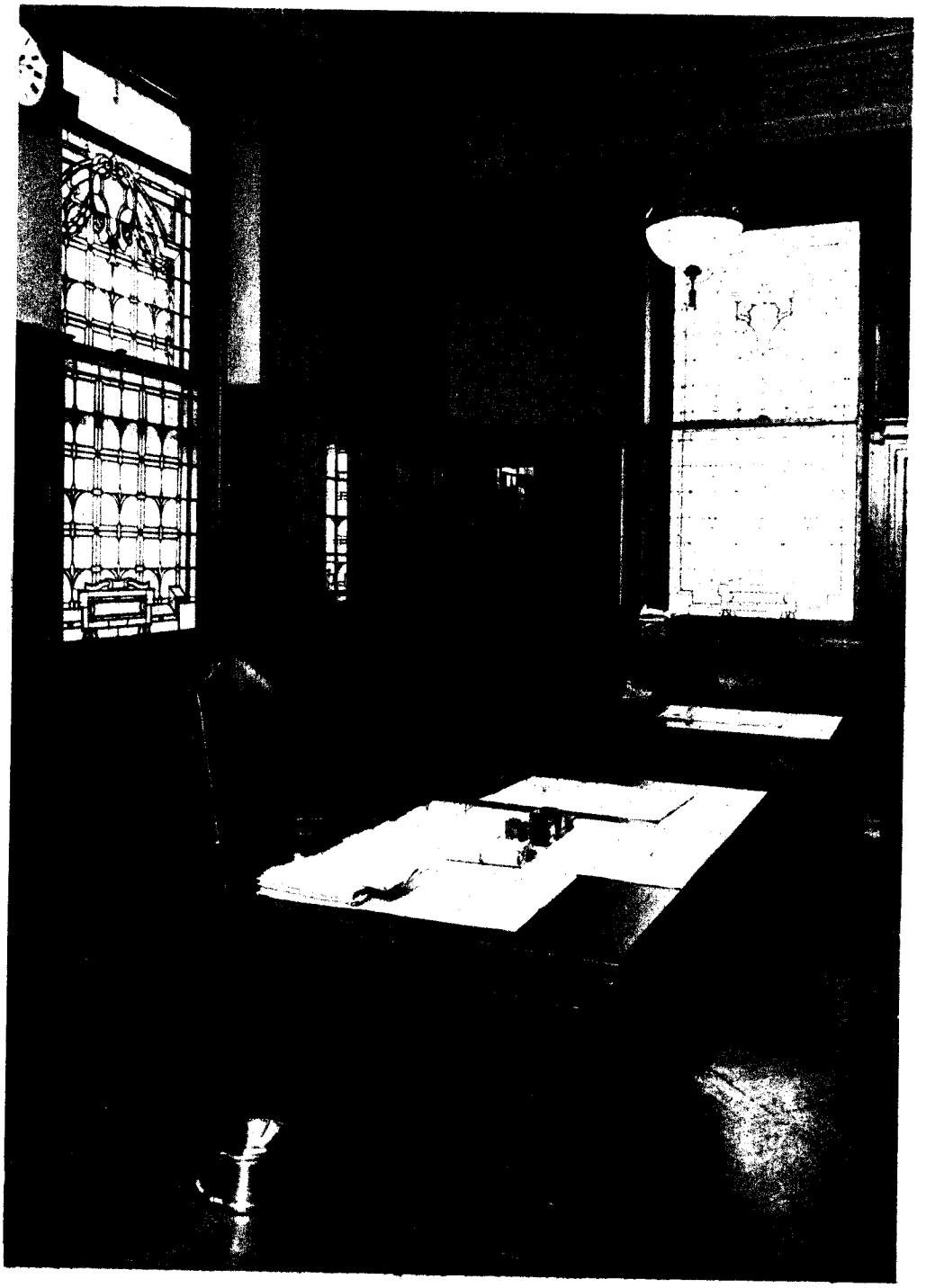
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE TWENTY-SECOND STREET FRONT

This edifice, just dedicated, is believed to be the finest building ever erected for a Children's Court. The architects are Messrs. Crow, Lewis & Wickenhoefer, of New York. See description on editorial pages

THE NEW CHILDREN'S COURT

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"THE HEART OF THE CHILDREN'S COURT"

The small court room pictured above is for informal hearings and adjourned cases, in which words of private counsel will no doubt in many cases prove the happy turning-point in juvenile lives

IN NEW YORK CITY

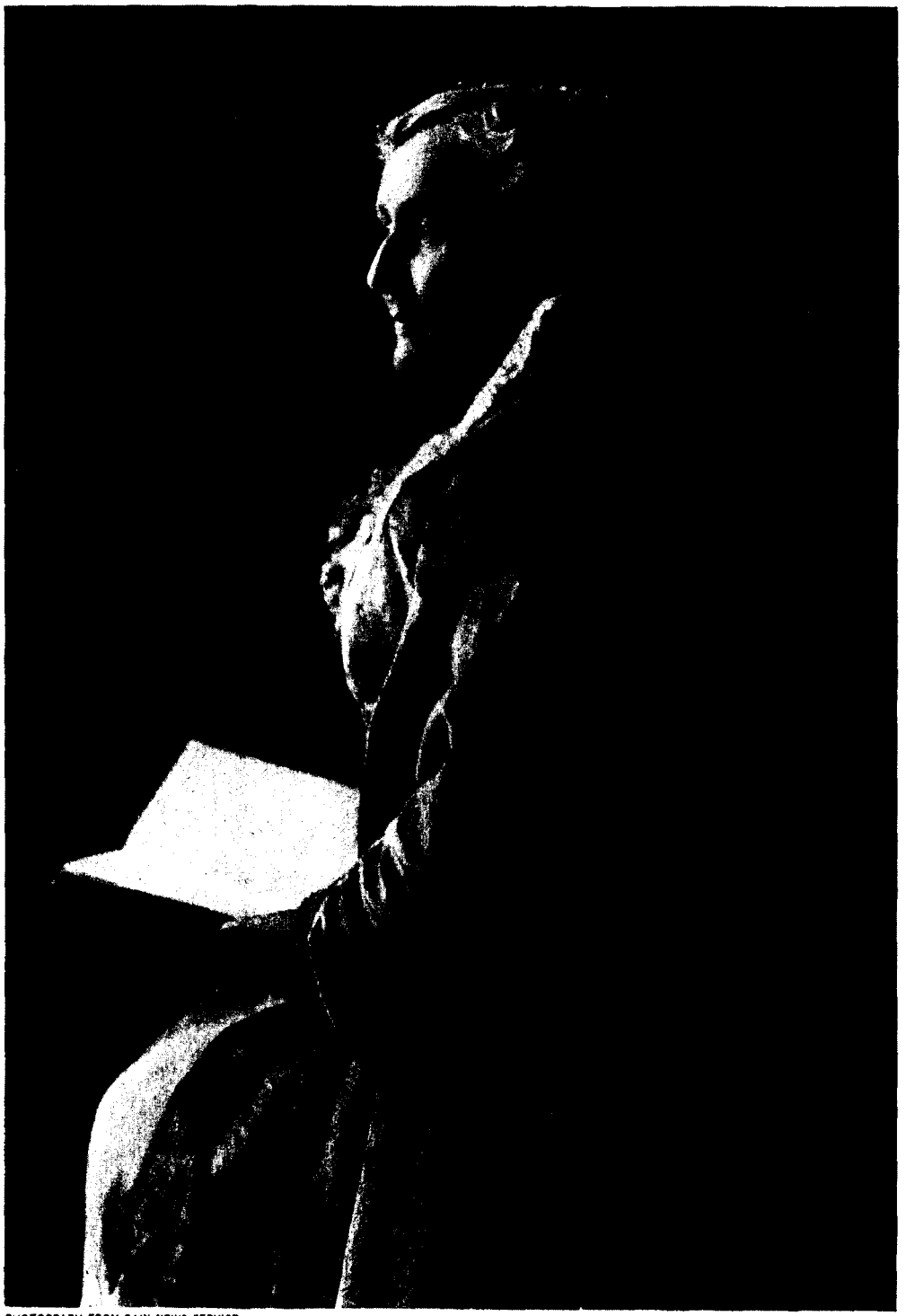
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHOTOGRAPH FROM INTERNATIONAL FILM SERVICE

BOY SCOUTS LEARNING HOW TO RESCUE FIRE VICTIMS

The Boy Scouts of Washington have been receiving from the City Fire Department practical lessons in rescue work in cases of emergency. The boys shown in the picture, equipped with smoke-fighting apparatus, are carrying a supposed victim from a burning building to safety

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



PHOTOGRAPH FROM BAIN NEWS SERVICE

DR. KATE W. BARRETT, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Dr. Barrett, a Southern woman by birth and long residence, has recently lived in California, where her experience as a sociologist has been useful in dealing with the important problems in that State, especially the welfare of the immigrant. The National Council of Women, of which she is President, met last month at Washington. This body is affiliated with the International Council of Women, of which the Marchioness of Aberdeen is President

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COPYRIGHT BY SOCIAL PRESS ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT WILSON

From a photograph taken of the President in his automobile in front of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, as he was starting on his tour in behalf of Preparedness

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COPYRIGHT BY AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

THE REFUGEE—A RUSSIAN PEASANT WHO HAS COME FOR FOOD TO A RED CROSS TRAIN

For a graphic description of Russia's Refugees the reader is referred to Mr. Gregory Mason's article with that title in The Outlook of January 19

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHOTOGRAPH FROM ROBERT H. MOULTON

AN AUTOMOBILE HIGHWAY TO THE SUMMIT OF PIKE'S PEAK

The ever-increasing number of motor car users will be gratified to see this evidence of the progress of the "good roads" movement in the great West. This road, recently completed, will afford some of the most magnificent views in the world. It leads from Colorado Springs to the top of Pike's Peak, a distance of eighteen miles; is "double track" all the way; and has a grade so easy that motor cars can make the trip without difficulty. It was built under the direction of Mr. Eugene A. Sunderlin, of Colorado Springs, with the co-operation of the Federal Government

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Minister the practical results of the policy of the Government as administered by the Military Board.

The Commonwealth itself is divided into six military districts, each under a district commander, assisted by a district staff. The boundaries of the districts are practically coterminus with the six political state boundaries. These military districts are divided into battalion areas which are eventually expected to provide one battalion of senior cadets and one militia battalion of infantry together with a proportionate contingent of cavalry, field artillery, and garrison artillery. Each battalion area is subdivided into two or three training areas, each administered by an area officer. Eventually, permanent professional officers for all this work will be appointed, as fast as they become available, from Australia's Royal Military College. Four battalion areas are grouped to form a brigade area under a professional brigade major, who supervises the work of the officers under him.

The chief criticism that has been made of this organization is that it is, administratively, essentially a peace system and that war would at once destroy the efficiency of the battalion and area organization. This was Sir Ian Hamilton's view in 1914. What has been the effect of actual war conditions we do not know, but there seems no reason to doubt that difficulties of an administrative nature can be overcome by time and experience. The essential virtue of the Australian system is the feature of universal training and the recognition of the obligation of every citizen to take part in the business of national defense, not in return for pay, but as a natural part of his life as a citizen in an organized state. The young men of Australia give but a comparatively small amount of their productive time to the service of their country, and in return they receive the best kind of mental and physical training at the most receptive period of their lives. Compared to our American system, the expense to the Government is small and the benefits derived by the Government and the individual citizens who are accepted for training are many and important. It may be added that should the Congress of the United States pass the proposed act partially to pay our organized militia we shall then have advanced just far enough to have arrived at the point of accepting a system of defense which Australia long ago abandoned as insecure.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

THE USE AND ABUSE OF CREEDS

AN unknown friend whose discriminating and frank criticism demonstrates the sincerity of his friendship writes me a personal letter in which, while heartily appreciating and commending the course of The Outlook on social and spiritual problems, he says that the Editor-in-Chief seems to him to understimate the value of creeds. It is not improbable that there may be justice in his criticism. For in my pastoral work in schools and colleges I have met so many young men and young women who are kept away from a true understanding of Jesus Christ and from a conscious following of him by the Church's theological definitions that, in my desire to make them know my Friend and Master, I have been eager, perhaps too eager, to pull down the fences which kept them from him.

There is no doubt that most of the historic creeds of the Church have been framed for the purpose of keeping heretics out of the Church. The historical scholars tell us that this is true even of the so-called Apostles' Creed. I am so desirous to have the heretics understand Jesus Christ that I am quite willing to have them join Christ's Church on their simple assurance that they wish to do Christ's work in Christ's spirit. There are not a few in the Church who show by their lives very little evidence of such a desire. There are many outside the Church whose lives show that they are dominated by this desire. And this appears to me the supreme matter. This conviction is an inheritance. In the period just preceding the Civil War my father, whose religious writings had attained a large circulation in evangelical circles both in this country and in England, said to me, speaking of a prominent Unitarian minister, so radical that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he had been disfellowshipped by the Unitarians, "Theodore Parker denies the divinity of Jesus Christ and teaches his precepts; the orthodox ministers of Boston disavow his precepts and teach his divinity."

I believe in creeds as a testimony, not as a test. I know a Presbyterian church which begins its service by reciting the Apostles' Creed. This is not the place for the creed. It belongs to the place assigned to it by the Episcopal Church. First, we confess our sins; and we all, orthodox and heretic, can agree that "we have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done," even though we may halt at the declaration that "there is *no* health in us," and our mood may not harmonize with the phrase "miserable offenders." Our sins confessed and forgiveness assured, a devotional spirit enkindled by the reading of the Psalms and the singing of ancient canticles, and instruction given to us by the lessons from the Old Testament and the New Testament, we are ready to confess our faith in our All-Father, made known to us in Jesus Christ his Son, to enter upon Christian prayer and praise to him. The Creed belongs after a Christian experience, not as a condition precedent to Christian experience.

A creed also has a legitimate use assigned to it by the Presbyterian Church. I could not subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith, for that Confession seems to me a hyper-Calvinistic document, and I am not a hyper-Calvinist. But only the ruling and teaching elders are required to subscribe to that creed, and it is quite legitimate for a Church to demand of its rulers and teachers that they understand and accept the fundamental belief of the Church before they are appointed to teach and to govern it.

But the creed has no place as a gate of entrance to the Church. The Church is a school; the members of the Church are disciples or pupils of Christ. All that we require of a pupil is that he come to the school to learn and loyally accept the authority of the teacher. Or, the Church is an army. All that the recruiting sergeant requires of a volunteer is that he promise loyally to obey and unquestioningly to follow his captain. The only condition of reception to the Church of Christ should be a loyal acceptance of Christ as teacher and leader. It should not include a loyal acceptance of somebody else's interpretation of him.

I join in reciting the Apostles' Creed without hesitation. In the cathedral service this Creed is sung, not recited, and this fact justifies my understanding that the Church regards this recital as an act of worship, not as a definition of theology. As in all acts of worship, as in all emotional utterances, the phrases are of necessity inexact, and they interpret differing though not inconsistent conditions of thought and feeling in different worshipers. Worship is feeling, and feeling can never be accurately defined. Thus, if a High Churchman and I join in the Apostles' Creed, to him the "Holy Catholic Church" means an ecclesiastical organization framed by Jesus Christ, of which the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglican Churches are branches. To me it means an invisible fellowship whose bond is spiritual, not ecclesiastical. To my conservative or traditional neighbor the phrase "resurrection of the body" means, or may mean, that the body laid in the grave will rise from the grave, the various parts brought together by a miraculous interposition at the last day. I believe that this earthly body has completed its course and ended its usefulness at death, and will rise from the grave only in grass and flowers; and the resurrection of the body means to me simply personal immortality.

If I were to regard the Nicene Creed as a series of theological definitions, I could not accept it, as certainly I could not accept its opposite. There is no definition of Christ that I can accept, no psychology of him that I have heard from others or framed for myself, that is satisfying to me. But if I regard the Nicene Creed as an expression of supreme adoration, I can join in it heartily when I am participating in a service in which it is used.

To me Christ is less an object of knowledge than of simple reverence and love. The words of the old Creed, "Light of light and God of God, very Light of very light and very God of very God," and the words of the older Bible, "the Wonderful, the Counselor, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace," are not philosophical definitions to be scientifically interpreted. They are the expressions of a reverencing and loyal love, and no expressions of a reverencing and loyal love are too strong to express my reverence and my love for Christ. I can make my own the creed of Dr. Parkhurst: "'For me to live is Christ;' that is all the creed I want. And I do not want to *think* even that."

The Knoll, Cornwall-on-the-Hudson.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATIONS AT WAR

I—THE EASTWARD DRIVE

BY LEWIS R. FREEMAN

Mr. Freeman, the author of this article, has visited Arabia and Palestine, and has made personal study in many ways of the problems of the Near East. Readers of The Outlook will recall his article in this journal on "Hoover and the Belgians," and many readers will also recall his extremely readable article on "The Fight for the Garden of Eden" in a recent issue of the "Atlantic Monthly."—THE EDITORS.

THE "*Drang nach Osten*," or "Drive eastward," policy of Bismarck, as extended by William II, has for its end the physical exploitation by the Germans of the seven or eight hundred thousand square miles of Turkey-in-Asia and the practical political control of the twenty million people living under the Crescent flag. The absorption of the Balkans is incidental to linking up Berlin and Bagdad.

Like all the rest of Germany's plans for the extension of territory and power, this, the most grandiose of them all, was also the most carefully prepared for. The now historical visit of the Kaiser to Palestine and Syria seven or eight years ago was staged as carefully and prayerfully as the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play, and the pilgrimage of the War Lord to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was not allowed to obscure another little *hadj* he made down "the street that is called Straight" in Damascus to bow head and bend knee before the jewel-studded marble sarcophagus of the mighty Saladin. To us in the West, perhaps, the imposing and much-pictured hospice erected by the Kaiser near the summit of the Mount of Olives was the most tangible result of this visit, and so it was intended that the West should be impressed. But, in the light of later events, we now know that the real motive of this spectacular progress to and through the Holy Land was for its "educational" effect upon the Mohammedans.

"Is it really true that the Emperor of Germany is a Moslem and has made the pilgrimage to Mecca?" my servant asked me shortly after our arrival at a little hotel in Tiberias in 1912.

"Not that I know of, Shamu," I replied. "What put such an idea into your head?"

"This," he replied, handing me a gaudily colored poster showing a towering white-robed figure saluting, by touching the hilt of a flaming sword to his turbaned brow, a host of much smaller figures whom the artist had evidently endeavored to depict as receiving the salute with shouts of wild acclamation.

"This writing," explained Shamu, poniting to a couple of rows of pothooks running like a frieze around two sides of the picture, "says that the Sultan of the Germans is one with the Sultan of the Turks as the 'Protector of the Faithful;' and it also gives him the title to 'Hadji,' which means to all Moslems that he has crossed the sands to Medina and Mecca and touched his forehead to the sacred stones of the tomb of the Prophet."

Except for the "boar-tusk" mustachios and the fine defiance of the Potsdamian pose of the heroic central figure, the poster might just as well have been captioned "The End of the Hegira" or "Mohammed Interpreting the Koran," and an Occidental might easily have passed it without remark among the colored prints in a bazaar or mosque.

"Roll up a sheaf of them with your *rezail*," I ordered when Shamu told me that there was a huge stack of these posters in the storeroom in which he had slept; "they will be interesting to take to London and New York." When we packed up to depart, however, Shamu came to report that the pictures had been removed, doubtless at the orders of the proprietor, whom we had seen eying us suspiciously when we were looking over the original sample. This individual was evidently one of the numerous Teutonic propagandists operating at that time in Syria, Palestine, and the rest of Asiatic Turkey.

These posters and similar devices for inculcating in the simple Mohammedan of the Near East an impression of the "oneness" of Teutonic and Turkish aims and ideals were not without their effect, for I subsequently found ample evidence that the sedulously nurtured belief that the Kaiser was a Mussulman and a Hadji had taken firm root in the minds of the more ignorant of the followers of the Prophet in Syria, Palestine, and even here and there in Egypt.

There were some bad "slip-ups" in this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sort of propagandism, however, and one of the most disastrous of these befell as the consequence of a poster and post-card—widely distributed in the Near East, and especially in Persia—claiming to be the reproduction of a photograph showing Mohammedans being blown from the muzzles of guns in India. The original appeared to have been made by pasting the picture of a robed and bearded Mussulman upon the photograph of a British battery at artillery practice, and then re-photographing the composite. In the picture issued to the Persians a British "Tommy" is about to pull the lanyard of the gun that will blow the unlucky Moslem to bits, while several lines of native script warn the men of Iran that this will also be their own fate unless they arm to resist the terrible Englanders.

Something of the effect of this poster on the Persians I was able to learn from an Anglo-Indian officer of marines, invalided home with dysentery, whom I recently met in London.

"Your true Oriental," he said, "has little regard for any law save that of might, and most of the trouble we have had with the Bedouins and Persians has been due to our disregard of a truth we have been learning by bitter experience for a couple of centuries. The Germans, however, unwittingly did us a good service on this score by distributing post-cards among the Persians calculated to show the 'frightfulness' of British methods of dealing with Mohammedans. The worst of these—inspired by the old Mutiny story, doubtless—showed an old *imam* being blown to Gehenna from the muzzle of a 'four-point-three.' But no sooner did the Persians see this picture than they began telling each other that, if the British were such terrible foemen as all this, it would never do for the peaceful Shiahs to go to war with them. I was with several small columns which operated in the Persian Gulf hinterland, and our only trouble was from scattered bands out of touch with Teutonic propaganda. In the towns, where they had been carefully instructed as to our 'frightfulness,' they were like lambs. The Political Officer at Bushire was considering reproducing the 'gun-blowing' card for distribution in our own interests at the time I left."

In spite of such instances as the above, Germany has, generally speaking, reaped some reward in military success as a consequence of the elaborate previsionary programme which she pursued for so many years in Turkey. The railways in Asia, inadequate as they will prove at their best for operations that might win any great success, have still been far more efficient than it seemed possible they could be made in face of the difficulties existing. It is, for instance, very probable that hidden stores of material made possible the extension of the Bagdad Railway at a rate unreckoned upon by the British strategists, and thus brought about the defeat of the army under General Townshend after it had attained a point from which the golden minarets of Bagdad were in sight. Similarly the heavy rock work in the Taurus and Amanus Mountains may have been rushed to a finish in time to give an army operating against Egypt a far better line of communications than it seemed possible would be available before 1917.

Germany's best "previsionary" work in the Near East, however, was that of winning Enver Pasha to her side, for the genius displayed by this brilliant young Turkish leader in conciliating the many conflicting races and sects under Ottoman rule is accounted, even in London, as one of the most remarkable developments of the war. Strongly Teutonic in sympathy, as the natural consequence of having been educated in Berlin, Enver was irretrievably alienated from the Entente when France and Britain gave their tacit consent to Italy's descent upon Tripoli in 1911. In a conversation which I had with Enver in the summer of 1912, in Cyrenaica, he expressed himself very bitterly regarding the attitude of all the Powers toward Turkey, but intimated that the fulfillment of Germany's Asiatic programme was fraught with less danger to his country than the fulfillment of that of Russia or of England. Indeed, I carried away from this meeting the fixed impression that this already powerful Turkish leader would be counted in the future as an implacable enemy of the members of the Triple Entente, both jointly and severally. The fact—which I have from an unimpeachable authority—that every Turkish soldier was called up and all the available horses in the Ottoman Empire were seized by the military the day the first declarations of war were made in Europe in August, 1914, is sufficient proof of how thoroughly committed to the German programme Enver was. That Turkey did not "come in" for another two months only indicates that it was not the Kaiser's purpose that she should enter the war at an earlier date.

Coming down to the actual operations in Asia, it must be said that the achievements

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE THEATER OF WAR IN ASIA

The main map shows the situation in Mesopotamia. The small inserted map shows part of Egypt and the countries of western Asia adjoining Mesopotamia. The British expeditionary forces marched from the Persian Gulf toward the city of Bagdad, a distance of about 400 miles, along the river banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. These forces reached Ctesiphon, but were finally forced back and hemmed in by the Turks at Kut-el-Amara. A British relief force, advancing from the Persian Gulf, is trying to save the force at Kut-el-Amara. The Russian troops have crossed the Caucasus Mountains and are before Erzerum, while additional forces are advancing through Persia

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Turco-Germans are remarkable only when considered in the light of the difficulties in the face of which they were accomplished, and not for any decisive significance attaching to them. Aside from India, which may be reckoned as almost absolutely unthreatened as things now stand, there were and are two great prizes which might conceivably be won from Asiatic Turkey—the Suez Canal and the Baku oil-fields. The Turks, with the usual stiffening of German officers and artillery and following doubtless a German plan, bid high for both as soon as they entered the war, but without coming within even measurable distance of success in either field. Elaborately planned to the least details, the Suez raid made a very creditable crossing of the Sinai desert, only to be repulsed with almost ridiculous ease by the hastily gathered British forces, which, as a consequence of extensive low areas having been flooded, had to defend only a comparatively short front. Some specially contrived steel boats for ferrying the attacking forces across the Canal, riddled with bullet holes, are on exhibition in the public gardens of Cairo to-day.

The Caucasus campaign was even more disastrous for the Turks, for overwhelmingly strong Russian forces drove them back into Armenia, taking great numbers captive. Before a really decisive success could be attained the demand for troops from Europe forced the Russians to resume the defensive. A drive that might have gone to Mosul, or even Bagdad, had to be given up and the Armenians abandoned to the fury of the Turks, whose defeats, it should be explained, had been powerfully contributed to by the hostility of this sturdy race. The renewed Russian offensive in the Caucasus has carried them to the vicinity of Lake Van, with good prospects of going even farther south. The one most important thing to bear in mind in this theater is that the physical conditions for a great advance are more favorable from the Caucasus than from any other direction, so that, should Russia have any great number of troops to spare from Europe, the last word in all the northeastern portion of the Ottoman Empire may come in the form of a growl from the Great White Bear.

The most brilliant feat of the Turco-Germans in the Asian theater was the defeat of the Anglo-Indian invading force after it had won its way almost to within gunshot of Bagdad; yet, heartening as was this spectacular coup to the Turks, and disheartening as it was to the British, it did not begin to compensate for the *laissez faire* with which the former had conducted their campaign up to that moment. A proper defense of the marshes and back channels of the lower Tigro-Euphrates Valley would have held the British in the fever-stricken area about the head of the Persian Gulf, and such a defense could have been carried out with a half or even a third of the men the Turks will have to dispose, now that the invaders have solid ground under their feet, to save Bagdad. In the event that the British are able and willing to prosecute this campaign vigorously, the fact that they hold the navigable Tigris as a line of communication means that they should be able easily to maintain a larger force in Mesopotamia than can the Turco-Germans, even should the latter perform the seemingly impossible by completing the Bagdad Railway during the next few months.

Should the British be able to reach Bagdad, the defense of the short twenty-five-mile line between the Tigris and Euphrates should insure to them the possession of lower Mesopotamia—the most fertile portion—as long as they cared to hold it. Between the Russians in Persia and the Caucasus and the British on the lower Tigris, the position of the Turk in Mesopotamia is by no means so favorable as his victory at Ctesiphon and the investment of Kut-el-Amara has led the world to believe. The capture of General Townshend's force would, of course, be a master stroke, but anything less than such a victory will leave the Turk in danger of a staggering disaster.

As the much-talked-about Turco-German attack upon Egypt may never take place, it will hardly be in point to discuss it at this time. The insuperable difficulty in the way of the success of such an attack seems to lie in the fact that no conceivable development of the communications would make it possible properly to feed and munition the half million or more men that would be imperative seriously to threaten the Suez Canal. An illuminative idea of the way in which those closely in touch with the situation regard the outlook may be gained from the words of a one-time hotel proprietor of Jerusalem who had been expelled by the Turks at the outbreak of the war.

"The Turks have taken my hotel and the horses and camels of my transportation outfit," he said to me recently in London. "I was worth 300,000 francs a little over a year

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ago, and to-day I am penniless and about to join the Army Service Corps as an interpreter. But all I ask is: let the Turks make a really big attempt to cut the Suez Canal. I've caravaned all over Palestine and the Sinai Peninsula for twenty years, and I know what they will be up against. I figure that I'll be just about even with them if they try it. But I am afraid the Germans are too wise to take the risk."

II—THE NEW BRUNHILDA: GERMAN WOMEN AND THE WAR

BY KATHARINE ANTHONY

WHEN Hansi comes marching home, he will not find his women folk where he left them. They have learned much in his absence. Nor do they plan to hide their new light under a bushel. The Federation of Women's Societies—*Bund deutscher Frauenvereine*—has announced that as soon as the war is over they will publish a volume describing their own share in it. They do not intend that the nation shall forget what its women have done, or that the Reichstag shall lack a reminder that woman suffrage is overdue.

Before the war, there were nine and a half million women at work in Germany; there are now thirteen millions. Before the war, the poor man's wife did not know what it was to spend a *pfennig* without accounting for it to her *Mann;* she now has a weekly allowance from the Government, a pittance, it is true, but at least she has the sole control of it. Before the war, the average housekeeper had no idea of fair play in the national standard of living; now she has learned, thanks to the bread card, the meatless days, and all the other food restrictions, what it means to forego luxury and waste in order that others may have enough. Before the war, thousands of middle-class women did not know the first principles of organization and solidarity; they are now working side by side with other women for common aims and purposes, released from domestic isolation for united social service.

These lessons of the war-year have left their impress on a whole generation of women. When the last gun has sounded they will have nothing to unlearn. The war, which has brought to the men a setback in the school of civilization, has brought to the women accelerated progress in that school. To produce and conserve the food supply, to protect childhood and further education, to earn and organize opportunities for earning—these are to-morrow's works as well as to-day's. They are memories which women can well afford to cherish. But trench memories—well, the men most worth while will be those who can forget them fastest.

It was through the *Bund deutscher Frauenvereine*, whose five hundred thousand members form the core of the German woman's movement, that the famous mobilization of the housewives was made possible. The President of the Federation is a woman of broad economic grasp and skilled executive powers. Every one who is at all familiar with the German woman's movement knows the name of Gertrud Bäumer. Besides being the president of the largest organization of women in the country, Dr. Bäumer is associate editor of "Die Hilfe," one of the best known of the Berlin weeklies. Under her leadership the National Women's Service was perfected and put to work within four days after war was declared. It was a truly spectacular accomplishment, in which Gertrud Bäumer figured as the von Hindenburg of the housewives' army. In this event, as in so many others in which women have been concerned, the state was reaping where it had not sown, for these new defenders had been trained in the woman's rights movement, and derived their powers from their long struggle with the Government.

The National Women's Service devoted itself primarily to the food crisis. A dramatic beginning was made by the cooks' assembly held in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies. All the cooks of Greater Berlin were invited. Here they sat in the seats of the mighty and heard the programme of food-conservation outlined by women economists and cooking experts. The new war cook book was distributed, and attractive leaflets were given away which read:

Cook potatoes in the skin. It saves one-tenth.
Use plenty of sugar. Cook up the fruit and do not let it go to waste.
Use marmalades and "Mus" to replace butter.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Meat can be replaced by cheese, milk, and fish. Use the fireless cooker and save fuel.

Early spring saw the wander-cooks setting out for the country districts. The *Bund deutscher Frauenvereine* sent a hundred representatives. Having first been trained at the Government's expense for their work, they penetrated into the farthest Hinterland, sometimes walking from village to village. On Sunday afternoons they met the country women in the village church or school and delivered their message of economy and co-operation. The talks were very simple, being chiefly object-lessons centering around the bread card and the fireless cooker.

These peasant women are worth more to Germany to-day than its Uhlans. While the war has added several millions to the women wage-earners in business and industry, it has not increased to any great extent the woman farm workers. On the contrary, it has withdrawn the men and the horses and left the women to do their own work and the work of man and beast. The marvel is that, by some strange power of the second wind, they have done it. When the harvest was in, the Government announced that the children's ration of bread could be increased by two pounds a week!

Along the Rhine are many bronze statues commemorating the years of '70 and '71. Presumably there will be others in the future dedicated to the current years, however the victory may fall out. The noblest monument of them all belongs to the woman with the hoe, who has dug out of the soil, with her bare muscles, the bread for sixty million people; who has wrung from the enemy earth and the enemy elements the extra two pounds of bread a week for the children.

In the frontier districts the peasant women have borne yet another burden, that of the military quartering. One of the wander-cooks tells this story: "I know of a young woman who lived alone in the country with her sixty-eight-year-old mother. For three or four months she had ten to fourteen men and one officer to provide for. She rose at four o'clock, cooked six or seven liters of coffee, gave each soldier half a pound of sausage for breakfast and half a pound at midday. Besides, she had ten horses to provide for; she kept them in her hay-barn, which she had converted into a stable, and in order that neither the horses nor her property should come to harm, she took care of the animals herself. The soldiers were broom-makers and tailors, and knew nothing about the care of horses."

Feminism and social work are allies in Germany. The *Nationaler Frauendienst*, as a matter of course, took over the guardianship of the broken homes of the land. The protection of childhood stands foremost on their programme. In Charlottenburg, which has always been famous as a municipal mother, a system of school feeding was developed which has been a model for other cities. Children's shelters—"*Kinderhorte*" as they are called—were opened and directors employed to take charge of children after school hours. In Heidelberg there are ten of these shelters. Kinderhort has come to be as familiar a word as Kindergarten, and the Kinderhortnerin, like the Kindergartnerin, is already a young lady with a recognized profession. Moreover, everybody realizes that Kinderhort has come to stay. The National Women's Service opposes all schemes of child-caring which would bring up the war orphans in institutions, and the Kinderhort will help the working mother to keep her children with her.

Silently and over night, the war has unbarred many gates at which women have battered in vain for many years. The law forbidding the employment of married women in the schools and in the civil service has been repealed. Women are now teaching in the boys' schools for the first time. The code which declared that "the illegitimate child and its father are not related" has been nullified so far as the illegitimate children of soldiers are concerned. The State grants the same pension to the legitimate and the illegitimate alike. Everywhere women are asked to sit on municipal boards and committees, and in many cities they are serving as police officers. It will not be easy to close all these gates when the war is past. The women's services will still be too much needed in the difficult tasks of reconstruction.

Since the very beginning of the war the women have been preparing for peace. One of the problems now much discussed is that of compulsory State service for women. Most of the plans proposed threaten to place undue emphasis on housewifery and domestic science. These plans are favored by the more conservative elements in the woman movement, and by the new recruits who are still too unfamiliar with the history of the emancipation of their sex to perceive an old danger in a new guise.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The more experienced feminists insist that better educational and vocational opportunities for girls and women are all that is needed. They therefore propose that the working-girl shall be given one more year of compulsory school attendance, and that the number of vocational schools for girls shall be increased. The *Bund deutscher Frauenvereine* has instructed its local branches to work for continuation schools for girls and has drawn up plans for making these schools compulsory. It has declared that the Lyceum, the type of school attended by the daughters of the well-to-do, must "educate girls in the feeling of responsibility and the sense of duty. The tendency to frivolity and dilettanteism must be discouraged. The school must point out that the customary stopping at home without a serious occupation or real employment is bad for the character, and that occupational training is better for the future wife and mother than a planless leisure without duties."

It is commonly assumed that women lack the fighting instinct and have lacked it from the beginning. Certainly this is not true of the ancient Teutonic woman, the *Urweib*, who fought side by side with her bearded mate in incessant tribal wars. History tells us that the Roman armies had to defeat the women after they had defeated the men. The German legends of Brunhilda, the powerful wrestler, reflect the tremendous prowess of these prehistoric mothers. It took many centuries for their daughters to forget the scent of the conflict and learn the rôle of the non-combatant. But they have learned the lesson well. While the old Siegfried is still hacking his way through the forest of the past, the new Brunhilda is advancing uninterruptedly along the highroad of the future.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: SOME RECOLLECTIONS AND COMPARISONS

BY E. S. NADAL

*Lincoln died on April 15, 1865, almost a half-century ago. But every new birthday celebration (that of this week takes place one hundred and seven years after Lincoln's birth) brings out new stories and new studies of his personality and character. Mr. Nadal, the author of the following article, was graduated from Yale in 1864 and served for a number of years in the American diplomatic service. He was Secretary of the United States Legation in London for periods beginning in 1870 and 1877. Among his best-known books are "Impressions of Social Life" and "Notes of a Professional Exile." His wide knowledge of men and things has given him a fund of anecdote and comment.—*THE EDITORS.

I—LINCOLN AND STANTON

I AM indebted to a friend, who was not one of Lincoln's admirers, for the following:

"When the last call for troops was made and a conscription ordered, the proportion assigned to the city of New York was some thousands in excess of what some people believed to be our legal liability, and our Committee on Volunteering were certain they could prove this if they could have access to the books of the War Department. The Committee—Orison Blunt, John Fox, Smith Ely, and William M. Tweed—went to Washington and asked Secretary Stanton's permission to examine the records, which was brusquely refused on the pretext that the books were in constant use. The Committee then went to the White House and saw Lincoln in his private office. After asking them to be seated, he resumed his chair, in which he sat partly on his back, with his heels literally on the mantelpiece. His linen bosom was unbuttoned, exposing his red flannel shirt. He was told that we had furnished, in excess of previous calls, more than enough to exempt us from the present call, which we would prove if we could have access to the records for any two hours during the night when they were not in use. He

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was also assured that in no event would a conscription be needed in New York, as we were getting fifty volunteers daily, and a short postponement of the draft would enable us to supply all the demands, just or unjust. He listened with an expression of profound sadness, and said he thought the request a reasonable one, but he feared if the order for a draft was postponed volunteering would cease. He said that a similar committee from Cincinnati had applied to him for a postponement of the draft, as they were getting twenty volunteers a day. It was done, and the day following not a single volunteer appeared. 'That,' said Lincoln, 'is human nature. When you think death is after you, you run; but as soon as death stops, you stop.' At this he sprang from his chair, throwing his arms about, and laughed loudly at his own dismal joke. Lincoln gave the New York Committee a note to Stanton, substantially as follows:

"*Dear Secretary*—These gentlemen from New York ask only what I think is right. They wish access to the records, with two accountants, for two hours at any time to-night. I have told them that they may have double that time.

"Yours, A. LINCOLN.

"They took the note to Stanton, who handed it to Frye. The latter glanced at it, and, saying, 'Take seats,' left the office. In a few minutes he returned and said, curtly: 'The order is annulled; you can't see the books.' The Committee withdrew and returned to New York the next forenoon. The clerk of the Committee, Eugene Durbin, said that late in the evening an army officer with two orderlies called at the Committee's rooms and presented the chairman with a note, which read as follows: 'The Secretary of War expects to be informed that the Committee on Volunteering from the County of New York have left Washington prior to noon to-morrow.' The Committee, after their return, said it was Stanton, and not Lincoln, who was President of the United States."

The gentleman to whom I am indebted for this—Mr. Smith Ely, a former Mayor of New York and a Member of Congress—was a Democratic political leader of war times, and, although one of the most amiable and kind-hearted of men, had of course to some degree the feelings regarding Lincoln shared by the men who in those days frequented the Manhattan Club. He does not see much point in Lincoln's remark about death and the draft. To me the point seems clear enough. "When the devil was sick, the devil a saint would be," etc. Nor will the reader conclude with the Committee that Stanton was President and not Lincoln. Stanton was a man of great administrative ability, a kind of human dynamo, such as you could hardly duplicate in the country, a patriot and honest man besides. As long as the issue was one of no great importance (which seems to have been the case here) Lincoln let him have his way.

Stanton was probably the greatest man in civil life produced by the war, of course after Lincoln. My earliest recollection of him is seeing him at the trial of Sickles for the murder of Key, which took place when I was a boy at school in Washington. He was one of Sickles's counsel. The acquaintance which Sickles formed at that time with Stanton was in part the cause of Sickles's success as a soldier in the Civil War. Stanton advanced and supported him. I remember at the trial a thick-set man with a heavy beard who sat behind the other lawyers, and who would occasionally interpolate a remark in a gruff voice. He had that physical build which is said to be one of the best for strength—very broad shoulders and deep chest, a large body set on short, stout legs. He had herculean powers of labor. I suppose he was honest, but I do not suppose that he was an overscrupulous man. He would have been out of place as War Minister if he had been. When some one complained to him of General Meigs, who was one of his subordinates, he said: "Now don't say anything against Meigs; he's the best man I have; he is a soldier, and can do things which I as a lawyer find it hard to do." One wonders what the things were that Stanton would not do.

I am able to make only one original contribution to the history of Stanton. A young girl once told me this incident about him. The reader, of course, knows Coleridge's poem beginning—

"All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
Are but the ministers of love,
And feed his sacred flame."

This girl's father was a client and a great friend of Stanton's, and she used to make long visits to Stanton's family during the war. She was a pretty girl and a belle of those days. She said that Stanton worked all the time and that the only relaxation he allowed himself was that on Sunday afternoon for an hour or so he would

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

read poetry to her, and she told me that the poem he read oftenest and with the greatest pleasure was "All thoughts, all passions, all delights."

II—LINCOLN AND FORESIGHT

It is strange that Lincoln, with his thoughtfulness, should not have in some degree foreseen the approach of secession and war. He had been in Congress and must have known the Southern people fairly well. He was undoubtedly a foreseeing kind of man. No one saw more clearly than he did that the country could not continue to exist "half free and half slave." It seems strange, therefore, that he had not some notion of what was coming. But who does foresee what is ahead? Benjamin Franklin was a foreseeing kind of man, one would suppose. He spent a number of years in France before the Revolution, knew the country well, and was on intimate terms with the leading people of France. He remained there till 1785. In eight years from that time the King's head was off; and yet the wise, observant, thoughtful, and presumably far-sighted Franklin never seems in the least to have suspected what was coming. The French Revolution would indeed have been very difficult to foresee, as perhaps our Civil War was in a less degree. But there are other things not so difficult to know beforehand which are not foreseen. I was in the House of Commons one night during the Franco-Prussian War when Vernon Harcourt, who was at that time unconnected with the Government, accused the Government of shortsightedness in not foreseeing the war, implying that he had foreseen it. Robert Lowe, an extremely clever man, got up to answer for the Government, and said: "Because the gentleman foresaw this war, he thinks that everybody else should have been as clever as he was. I am free to say, however, that the whole thing was a complete surprise to me." Men are always too busy with present matters to bother with what is problematical. Take the case of the present war. Half a dozen European nations have each been holding for forty years a loaded pistol with the finger on a hair-trigger, and yet how surprised we were when, in the lapse of time, one of the pistols went off. Much had been said about "the next war," but have we not put the prophecies regarding it in much the same category as that of the destruction of the world by fire? The ancients, in their deep, attentive knowledge of human nature, said that the gods bestowed upon Cassandra the gift of prophecy, but they coupled the gift with the condition that her prophecies should not be believed. Is that not so of all prophets? They are always regarded as bores or cranks.

There were, however, some prescient souls who did foresee our great struggle. Webster, no doubt, had some prevision of that conflict in which his only son was to die—"When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven," etc. Mr. S. J. Tilden said to John Bigelow some years before the war: "If Mr. Bryant and those who think as he does succeed in what they are about, the streets of this city will run red with blood." They did run red during the draft riots, much redder than is commonly understood. Mr. Loyall Farragut tells me that his father, Admiral Farragut (then Captain Farragut), and he were on the balcony of the old Metropolitan Hotel in Broadway one night in 1858 and were looking at a Republican torchlight procession, when his father said: "I don't like these marching men. It looks to me like war."

My father had a friend, John Heart, who who was a Federal office-holder at Washington under Buchanan. He was from South Carolina and had been the editor of the Charleston "Mercury." He came to pay us a visit in Brooklyn in the summer of 1860. He had just been in Charleston, and, from what he told us, we could have no doubt that South Carolina would secede if Lincoln were elected. I had been lately much in the South, and, although only seventeen years old, knew enough of the temper and characteristics of the Southern people to be aware that, secession once started, it would be very difficult to prevent the spread of it. But youth is sanguine and precipitate. I wanted to see the power of slavery curtailed, and was willing to take the chances; and other boys and young men felt as I did.

Calhoun, perhaps the most prescient of American statesmen, foresaw the struggle and wanted to bring on the war before the strength of the rapidly growing North should prove too great to be withstood by the South. The scheme of the North should have been to put off the struggle as long as possible for the same reason. If Calhoun saw what was for the interest of the South, it should not have required superhuman intelligence on the part of the North to see where its interests lay. No one, however, at the North

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seemed to see this point quite as sharply defined as Calhoun did. But there were those in the North who saw that great danger, perhaps disunion and war, would follow anti-slavery agitation, and who wished to adhere to the *status quo*, preferring postponement and the chances of the future to the present probabilities of secession and war.

But would it have been possible, after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to put off the war? If Douglas, the marplot, or demagogue, or egotist, or whatever he was, could have been suppressed, it might have been possible to postpone the war for four or eight years, or even longer. But with the repeal once passed, and Pandora's box open, and the newspapers and all the poets and orators hounding the country on to war, was it possible to do it? You cannot teach tact and discretion to twenty millions of people. One night in Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, a few weeks before John Brown's execution—so a friend told me who was there—Wendell Phillips, a Massachusetts man, said: "The State proclamations of Massachusetts conclude with the words, 'God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts;' but if Massachusetts allows John Brown to be hanged, I say, 'God damn the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.'" The effect of this spoken to a vast, crowded, and sympathetic audience with the utmost passion by a perfectly honest fanatic, who was at the same time an incomparable orator, may be easily conceived. When such incidents were possible, war could not be far off. If the war was to come, Lincoln was the perfect and apparently Heaven-appointed leader, and it was perhaps fortunate that he was no wiser in advance than he was.

III—WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

We are fortunate to have had in our short career two such characters as Washington and Lincoln. England has had only one, Alfred. Washington was, of course, a man of much less salient characteristics than Lincoln. The young Chastellux found "his distinction to be in the harmonious blending of his characteristics rather than in the existence of marked special qualities." So he has always seemed to his countrymen, but he probably had more pronounced qualities than we have supposed. Albert Gallatin said that of all the inaccessible people he ever knew, Washington was the most inaccessible. Gallatin, however, knew him as a young man and was not by way of knowing him well. That could not have been the opinion of the farmer Burns, a neighbor of Washington, who once said to him, "Where would you have been if the widow Custis hadn't married you?"

There grew up an idea that Washington was colorless. Carlyle, for instance, said of him that "George was just Oliver with the juice left out." That is, of course, untrue. He is not so visible as Lincoln, has not Lincoln's gift of familiarity. In order to get a clear idea of him we should have to follow him more closely than it would be necessary to do with Lincoln. But as we did so, we should of course find him a man of marked qualities. I have always found that men are more individual than they are thought to be. As you look at them closely, marked traits begin to define themselves. It would be so in the case of this great man. I am sure also that as we followed him closely we should grow very fond of him. We should perhaps find him pleasanter company than Lincoln. For one thing, he was handsome; he had a person worthy to be the tenement of a mind and character as great as his. Washington, however, had not at all a great opinion of himself. He does not seem to have set even a fair estimate upon his own powers. Says one who has made a study of him: "There seems to be no doubt that to the day of his death he was the most determined skeptic as to his fitness for the positions to which he was called in succession." That we know was not Lincoln's feeling. Lincoln probably knew perfectly well what he was.

Washington had not in the least Lincoln's humor. One of Washington's foibles, by the way, was a disposition to shine as a wit, a disposition which was a source of disturbance to his admirers, some of whom had come overseas to set eyes upon the most illustrious man of his age. But you and I find this and his other foibles pleasant, because they bring him nearer to us.

Washington was himself of a happy disposition. He appreciated the good things of this world. He was a mundane person, and there is something cheerful in that. Thackeray hinted that in his marriage he was not insensible to the fact that the widow Custis had a hundred thousand dollars—a great sum in those days. People here were indignant at the suggestion when it was made. I am indignant myself, and yet the promptitude with which his heart

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

declared itself when he saw the widow, taken in connection with the fact that the other lady for whom he entertained a tender sentiment, Miss Phillipse, was also an heiress, does look as if he had his wits about him. But why object to this? It was in character. Why object to what is in character, and why hesitate to recognize it?

Both Lincoln and Washington were men from the farm and the country; both were physically strong men. Washington was six feet three. Lafayette said of him that his hands were the largest he ever saw. He was a skillful horseman. People said that scarcely any one had such a grip with his knees as he had. He could ride anything; all that he asked of a horse was that he should go forward. He had a passion for horses; of this the following incident is an illustration. Like most men who have accomplished much, he believed there was a right and a wrong way of doing things, and he had a strong feeling that they should be done the right way. A tradition, which I have had from a lady connected with Washington's family and which I have not seen in print, is that he would go into the stable and pass a silk handkerchief over the coats of the horses; if he found dust on the handkerchief, the groom would catch it!

Both Washington and Lincoln were prudent men in money matters. In Washington's case this story may be related as an instance. I have seen several versions of it. The following will do as well as any: Young Mr. Lewis was dining at Mount Vernon. Washington said he was looking for a pair of horses. Some one said that Mr. Lewis had a fine pair. Lewis said: "Yes, I have a good pair, but they will cost something, and General Washington will never pay anything." At that the clock on the mantelpiece struck. It was a cuckoo clock, the gift, perhaps, of some European admirer. (This story will illustrate as well Washington's propensity to make bad jokes.) The cuckoo came out and crowed the hour. Washington said: "Ah, Lewis, you're a funny fellow; that bird is laughing at you."

There is one difference between Washington and Lincoln which is characteristic and important. Washington was an aristocrat; an upright, downright English gentleman, much resembling the Englishmen of the revolution of 1688, which was a Protestant gentlemen's revolution. He was an aristocrat, but with a difference. A fine gentleman of that day would probably have thought him a countryman. I saw lately that Josiah Quincy, who had known him, said that he gave the impression of a man who had not been much in society. I should think that that was true. One has an impression that he was, in a noble way, a rustic. He was an English country gentleman, with a little of Sir Roger de Coverley about him. But he was much more than that. On this basis there was superposed something of Leatherstocking and something of Cincinnatus.

But he was essentially an aristocrat. Read his letters, and you will see that the tone of them is unmistakably aristocratic. He belonged to a world of classes, a world in which the existence of classes was the natural and inevitable order of things. But a new society was about to grow up, and it was right that this society should have its great man. In the older society the feeling of the upper class was one of marked separation from the common people. The feeling of that class was, consciously or unconsciously, that it was the business of the poor to be unhappy. A great man of the old time could not altogether escape this feeling. There had been plenty of good and kind rulers in the past, but their feeling in regard to the common people could not be the same as if they had themselves been of that class. Lincoln, on the other hand, was of that class. In him we have a great man unlike the good rulers of the past, not a Haroun-al-Raschid mixing with his people, or an Alfred burning the cakes, but the real thing. The fact that he was from that class, that he belonged to it not only by birth and experience, but by nature (for birth would not have been sufficient if it had not been that in his heart and his profound sympathies he was a democrat to the core), was an important element of his fame.

Of course it is Lincoln's power of sympathy that attracts men. But that would not of itself have been enough. What endears Lincoln especially to men is the union of sympathy with faith and great strength. It is very unusual to find these qualities united. In the list of English and American worthies I can think of but one other who was like him in this respect. I mean Dr. Johnson. Scott had this union of qualities, although in a less degree; and I have sometimes had a fancy, if there be not a certain temerity in the suggestion, that you might descry some such association of characteristics in the vast and vague personality that lies remote and in shadow behind the writings of Shakespeare.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But in Lincoln and Johnson it is clear and marked, and it is the reason of their great power of winning affection. Men wish to attach themselves to such characters. The thought of each man is, "He would have been my friend."

The peculiar character of Lincoln's genius also was in part the cause of his power of winning our affection. No great public man has had such strong human intuitions. Certainly no man in our history is his equal in that respect.

It appears from the recent life of Hay that it took Lincoln's secretaries a year or more to find out that their chief was a great man, and that they found it out before other people did. In talking with people who knew Lincoln before the war, most of whom are now gone, it has always been easy for me to see that they thought the modern notion of him extravagant. They may have had some jealousy of him, or may have felt something of pique and vexation that they had not been clever enough to find out all this for themselves, but that was what they thought. Of course they were too prudent to say that, but you could see it in their faces. The devotion of the people of this country to Lincoln is, however, not merely a matter of opinion. He has got hold of their hearts as no other American ever did, not even Washington, and he has held them for fifty years, and there is no indication that this sentiment is on the wane.

WATER POWER[1]

BY HUGH L. COOPER

*The author of this article is a well-known hydraulic engineer. His best-known work is the great hydroelectric plant on the Mississippi River at Keokuk, Iowa. He speaks with experience, knowledge, and authority on the subject of water power.—*THE EDITORS.

To gather the streams from waste and to draw from them energy, labor without brains, and so to save mankind from toil that it can be spared, is to supply what, next to intellect, is the very foundation of all our achievements and all our welfare.

—*From a decision handed down by Justice Holmes in the United States Supreme Court on January 24, 1916.*

THE strength of any nation can in a large degree be measured by the intelligence shown in the development of its natural resources. While the United States is endowed with a great natural resource in its water powers, only about thirty per cent of our water powers have been developed, and the remaining seventy per cent are lying idle, and practically no new developments have been inaugurated in the last seven years. The question arises, What is the matter? A reply would seem to comprehend some historical data, the value of these resources to the public, how to secure these values, and what results may be reasonably expected if the industry is restored to a healthy state of growth.

Water power as a provider of human necessity is an agency several thousand years of age, but more progress in its use has been made in the last twenty-five years than in all of the time that has gone before. Present-day industrial and economic standards have made power a public necessity, and invention, notwithstanding all its losses and failures, continues to furnish new facilities for our needs at a rate which makes intelligent realization of them an impossibility. For example, the modern use of water power has become possible only through the instrumentality of much intricate and special apparatus. One instance is the present-day hydraulic governor, which is an indispensable factor in any hydroelectric plant, though representing only about one per cent of its cost. Its function, as its name indicates, is to control, which it does automatically and instantly. It regulates the amount of water delivered to the water-wheel to suit the various conditions imposed by the consumer. It has cost fifteen years of time and around two millions of money to perfect this governor. All of the apparatus and parts constituting the remaining ninety-nine per cent cost of a hydroelectric plant would serve for approximately similar illustration, and the scrap piles in the wake of their development and perfection are monuments

[1] See editorial on this subject on another page.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to innumerable failures and losses such as are incident to the evolution ot every great mechanical and industrial achievement.

Many new twentieth-century blessings might be enumerated, and the question arises, "How did they come into practical being?" By legislative fiat and Government control? No, they are the direct result of brain competitions in which the spirit of achievement and the hope for the regard of their fellows and reasonable financial reward have spurred on countless thousands of men through defeat after defeat to final success. The spirit of competition overcomes the greater part of the obstacles in human progress, thus providing most of the blessings we enjoy, and the corresponding list in the fiat column is painfully small.

Water power development in the United States is at a very low ebb, and many are asking why. The ever-rising standards of living make the demand for power greater each year. In 1850 we used three-tenths of a ton of coal per capita per annum. To-day we use twenty times as much, and most of this is for industrial power purposes. Seven hundred and fifty thousand miners produced the coal we consumed in 1913, at the rate of 760 tons per miner per annum. By the year 1940 we will probably be using 1,200,000,000 tons of coal per annum and require 1,600,000 miners. A practical economic question may well here arise, Have we the coal and what will be the probable cost of it? Statistics show that we have the coal for many years to come, but also show that the economical deposits are being worked first, and, as the coal becomes deeper, the costs increase rapidly.

Also it is realized by observing persons that the labor supply of the world is being rapidly destroyed, to what final extent no one can estimate. The best statisticians in Europe agree that when the war now raging is over at least fourteen million men will have been withdrawn from the world's field of labor. No one can deny that such a reduction in the supply of labor, together with the new political power the labor then remaining will possess, will create a corresponding increase in the demand for and cost of labor. This must result in a world-wide increase in the cost of coal and all other commodities.

It is unreasonable to suppose that Europe will permit itself to be further impoverished by emigration after the war has done its work, and the men left will be so badly needed at home. The tide Europeward will be stemmed only by an increase of wages in this country sufficient to keep our present foreign labor. If the foregoing is good reasoning, then are we not now in a zone of shortage of labor that will affect the coal supply and price and affect materially every other walk of life, especially agriculture and manufacturing?

The above question may well be asked. An analysis of Government statistics shows that, where we are now paying $14.20 per capita per annum for coal for our population, by 1940 we will be paying $22.60 per capita. This means a constantly increasing tax on all our people, from which they have the right to relief if relief is possible. Reliable data show that the efficiency of steam power development has practically reached its maximum. If this is true, and the cost of coal is to go up and the needs of the people for power are constantly increasing, how can the situation be relieved? The answer is, by the development of our water power as rapidly and as fully as it can be accomplished without any sacrifice of the public interest.

Let us now, having considered the necessity for water power, see what the important facts are regarding it. The average cost of a water power per horse-power may be taken at about five times that of steam, and in addition the difficulties in raising money and the cost of money for water powers are much greater than for steam, because the steam plant is free from flood hazards in construction and operating periods and it can be constructed in small units about as the market requires, whereas the water power usually has to be greatly overdeveloped and then wait for its market to grow up to it, thus entailing large additional interest costs while securing and waiting for business. The water power requires for operation about one-fourth the amount of labor that steam power requires, therefore the water power conserves labor as well as coal.

The United States Government estimates show about 60,000,000 horse-power now undeveloped in the United States. Probably 15,000,000 of this horse-power is worth developing under present conditions. As to the value of the 15,000,000 horse-power to our people when its development is completed much can be said. The larger proportion of this undeveloped power is in the South and West, where there are room and need for great industrial expansion if the South and West are to enjoy the industrial advantages that obtain

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in New England. Fifteen million utilized horse-power means the conservation of about 100,000,000 tons of coal per annum, costing at this time about $225,000,000 annually in the boiler furnaces, and the conservation of the labor of about 280,000 miners and steam station operatives annually for other uses; $225,000,000 would buy 2,250,000 acres of good cultivated farm land. Suppose, instead of wasting, as we now are, $225,000,000 worth of coal and labor per annum, in some way we were destroying 2,250,000 acres of our farms every year, how long would it take our good voters to make a noise that would be heard and acted upon in Washington, to the end that the farm-destroying would cease? And yet that in effect is exactly what is going on to-day in the water power field. The 280,000 laborers would be available for other safer, more useful, and healthful employment, affording general relief to the agricultural and manufacturing industries.

The development of our remaining water powers is not only important from a coal and labor saving standpoint, but from the standpoint as well of new industries that we need in the United States which cannot be based on coal or oil power. Among such industries are the manufacture of fertilizers, nitric acid for explosives, many electro-chemical products, high-grade steel, irrigation pumping, and other general and very useful industries requiring cheap power that are now unable to locate here. Over 1,250,000 horse-power has been developed in Norway and Sweden in the last ten years for the manufacture of nitric acid and fertilizers, and no similar progress has been made in the United States. We now import more than $50,000,000 worth of materials a year for fertilizers and explosives in this country, all of which could in time be produced in our own country. It is common report that designs are now being perfected in Canada for the development of water power where American capital to the eventual tune of about $75,000,000 plans to manufacture fertilizers and nitric acid for consumption for the most part in the United States. Another large and beneficial use of power is that of pumping water for large irrigation projects in the West. There are hundreds of thousands of acres of land now valueless which will, if cheap power can be secured, be made productive and valuable. Many other similar instances could be noted if space permitted.

Hydroelectric engineering is a new science, and it has had to be learned in the usual expensive though very instructive school of experience. The art is less than thirty years old, and the first twenty-two or twenty-three years had to be spent in education, and as a result a lot of investors, not only in the United States, but all over the world, were bitterly disappointed. In the United States alone poor engineering and undue optimism caused, from 1900 to 1910, twelve water powers to go into liquidation; more than 600,000 horse-power of developments and $120,000,000 worth of disappointed capital went on the black list with investors. This unfortunate stage of engineering has now happily passed; but about the time that engineers had learned their lesson and were able conservatively to design and estimate water power plants, and about the time the optimists and commercial men had learned that it is necessary to sell hydroelectric power for about sixty-five per cent of the cost of steam power, along came a wail all over the United States because, it was said, a so-called water power trust was robbing the people, and then began a campaign in Government circles and in magazines that reduced the water power industry to its present state of innocuous desuetude. Much literature was distributed all over the country for the purpose of acquainting the American people with the alleged wonderful and deplorable discovery that the water powers of the country were being grabbed by a so-called water power trust which was making undue and tremendous profits out of this natural resource. As only one side of the question was presented, the story was believed and water power companies have been looked upon with suspicion ever since. Whatever the object of this unwarranted attack, the average citizen who has given no extended thought to this question is possessed with the idea that the water power industry has been a very profitable one and that there exists a water power trust which is engaged in grabbing everything in sight. Any intelligent truth-seeker who has honestly investigated the subject has found that no water power trust exists now or ever has existed, and furthermore never can exist in the face of a steam competition which no aggregation of capital could possibly control; that no banker is seeking investment in new water projects; that practically every banker who has ever made an investment of this class for his clients will recite a hard luck story of disappointed expectations and hopes; that the market has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been flooded with prospectuses and reports on projects which no substantial investment interest will take up because of the present general unpopularity of water power securities.

The popular theory that water powers provide an easy road to wealth is not shared by any one of experience in the industry. The uninitiated are naturally not aware of the many hazards connected with most water power developments. Without going into details, I will merely suggest that a little thought upon the subject will convince any intelligent person that the hazards attached to both the construction and operation of hydroelectric plants are greater than those attached to almost any other class of business that can be mentioned.

It is a great pity that prior to the rigors of the Government restrictive action an intelligent official investigation of the subject was not made. If such investigation had been made, it is certain that the action would not have ensued, and from that time until now about two million horse-power now going to waste would have been developed with its attending blessings to the public, including the conservation of a coal and labor cost of more than one hundred million dollars. In 1907 Governor Hughes was the only Governor out of twenty-seven Governors in the United States who recognized that "justice first" was a fundamental principle always working for the greatest good to the greatest number. He alone of twenty-seven Governors in other States whose Legislatures had passed similar laws vetoed a two-cent railway fare law passed by the New York Legislature, on the ground that it was the duty of the Legislature first to ascertain what was a just rate, and then establish it. The action of Governor Hughes showed an intelligence that some day will be demanded by the people of all their representatives; and when "justice first" is on the desks of a majority of our legislators, then, and not before, the water power question and a lot of other questions will get the best solution in the public interest.

As a result of the campaign above noted and the absence of any investigation disclosing water power facts and conditions, laws were passed that have practically stopped development all over the United States on navigable rivers and public lands, and the Federal laws passed governing these two classes of development, which are still in effect, make it impossible, on account of restrictions, regulatory provisions, and revocable permits, to secure capital from any source. For a time after these laws were put into effect some money for American water powers was secured in England, France, and Belgium; but this source of supply is now, for a very long time, if not permanently, destroyed by the European war. It therefore becomes necessary to secure American capital for all future developments, and in order to accomplish this the laws must be changed so that they will provide security and fairness for the investor and consumer, and at the same time fully protect the public interest. Under the existing laws there may be granted the right to build a dam on the public lands of the United States and operate it for an indeterminate period, but at any time all rights can be revoked by a Secretary of the Interior in his discretion without a hearing, and such action has actually been taken. Manifestly such an experiment was doomed to failure, and the idea is without any present advocacy and is mentioned as one of the evils of legislation passed without knowledge of the subject legislated about.

It is stated by some who oppose changing the present laws for development of water power on public lands that there is no necessity or demand for additional developments in the West, because some existing power companies have sufficient power unsold to supply the present and near future market. The suggestion by Government officials that great areas of territory in the West and South shall be deprived of industrial growth through water power assistance until these few restricted districts have consumed all their developed power is so unfair and unsound economically as to be almost pitiful. Our railways had to overdevelop that the country might develop, and the same is true of the water power industry. It can also be said that in the entire United States to-day there is not a single water power developed that can offer power terms justifying the establishment of fertilizer works, electro-chemical works, large irrigation projects or nitrogen fixation plants. It can also be said that there are now tentatively under serious consideration in the United States new developments that will call for more than $75,000,000, all waiting for encouraging legislation only. Must our unnecessary importations, amounting to $50,000,000 a year, and many other crying needs, wait until a few Western plants can sell out a small amount of power now unsold? I do

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not think the people will take kindly to this idea. Furthermore, if it should turn out in the future that more power is developed than can be immediately sold, such a condition is hardly one which the public or the Government need worry about, so long as the people reserve to themselves the right to regulate power rates.

Another little-known fact about water power that bears upon the question with peculiar force at this time is the one of profit in water power investments. Steam competition has driven the prices for power lower and lower for the past twenty-five years, and, while the cost of practically every other human necessity has been mounting upwards each year, the cost of power has been steadily going downward, and this process was strongly established long before State public utility commissions were created. For water powers to compete with these steadily declining steam costs has been very difficult. In 1912 over five thousand power stations investigated by the Department of Commerce showed that the steam stations were earning a surplus of 4.1 per cent above fixed charges and the water power companies were earning only 1.78 per cent. This 1.78 per cent showing is a fine tribute to the financial genius and grabbing results of the alleged water power trust. Investors will not be attracted to securities afflicted with strong competition and many and great risks, legal, commercial, and physical, for a surplus anything like as low as 1.78 per cent; and the reason for their attitude is easily found in the fact that the investors can go into many other safer fields and make much more.

That the water powers of the country are not being developed, and that this lack of development is a grave industrial calamity, are facts the accuracy of which cannot be successfully challenged. The question then arises as to what is needed to cause the business to revive and assume its proper place in our National life. I believe that the following conditions should exist in the laws governing water power development in order to make it possible to place this class of securities at home, where they should be owned; they cannot hereafter be sold abroad, anyway.

In the first place, the franchise term should be irrevocable in character and for not less than fifty years. At the end of fifty years the Government should have the right to take over the property of the power company by paying for the fair value of the property, the franchise rights and lands contributed by the Government to be excluded from payment. The lessee should have the right to continue until the property is taken over. There should be no Federal charge on the water power, except such small amount representing rental value of land and cost of Government administration of the lease, so long as its steam and other water power competitors are not similarly charged. It is a well-recognized fact that any substantial Federal charges must be paid by the consumer, because there is no one else to pay them. Why, therefore, should new sets of consumers be obliged to pay additional charges which present consumers are not assessed?

On the question of Federal charges. Suppose the United States Government should say to the farmers in the country: "On all the wheat you sell in your own State you need pay no charge, but on any wheat subject to inter-State freight rates, which rates we have jurisdiction over, you must pay the United States Government one cent per bushel." What legislator could survive such an advocacy? Yet in what way is the proposal more unjust than to make a charge on water powers that the Government takes dominion over, letting the 6,000,000 horse-power already developed go free from any such charge? Justice first would exclude the imposition of any such load. The general public may be said to be the power-consuming public, and anything done to increase the cost of constructing or operating power plants becomes a charge on the public. One of the greatest factors in the cost of a power plant is the cost of securing the money to build it. Water power investments should be taxed by the States in which the plants are located, the same as any other business concern is taxed, but should not in addition have to bear a Federal charge which will be paid by the public through increased power rates and through increased cost of securing money. It would be just as reasonable for the general borrowing public, including farmers and manufacturers, to advocate legislation which would force the banks to increase the rates at which money could be loaned to them, as to urge or permit laws which make the securing of money for water power development more costly. If the water power business were one of great profit or ever had been, if the business by its very nature and by its very competitive environments were not always

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forcing prices to the consumer downward, and if the prices now being paid by consumers generally were not greatly less than coal-produced power costs, then there might be some justification for stretching a point as against other industries and levying a charge, because the water powers really belong to the whole people.

Upon the question of regulation of rates to be charged by a water power, the rates the consumers pay should be fixed by the consumers themselves through their own public service commissions in all States which have commissions. The regulation of rates by any Cabinet officer is wrong in practice, except temporarily pending the establishment of commissions in a few States which still lack them. If the rates fixed by the State commissions are unfair to either power companies or consumers, either party can appeal to the people and eventually secure justice. As the consuming public through the commissions regulate the rates which they pay for power, and as the rates must be sufficiently high to include all taxes and Federal Government charges, as well as any increased interest cost on the investment occasioned thereby, is it not in the direct interest of the consuming public to insist upon all laws which will enlist money at the lowest possible rates, thereby materially aiding themselves to lower power rates?

What, then, may we expect if laws regarding water power are made attractive to American investors? We may expect low rates and a gradual and certain revival of water power installation. Tentative plans for the expenditure of more than $75,000,000 in this class of work are now awaiting the enactment of fair laws. Every dollar of this investment will aid in creating a cheaper human necessity for the people and place no new burden on anybody's back. We may also expect that the 15,000,000 horse-power still undeveloped will yearly grow less and less, and finally this undeveloped resource will take its rightful place and be a great benefit to our population all over the land; that many millions we now send out of our country annually for necessary products will be kept at home. If we are a Nation of red-blooded men capable of providing for and defending ourselves from within, we will make our own fertilizers and much-needed chemicals and explosives, instead of depending upon foreign countries as we do now. If space permitted, much more could be said regarding the blessings that are easily obtainable by the passing of conservative and encouraging laws. Why not pass them?

THREE PIONEER WOMEN

BY ELIZABETH WALLACE

AT this moment, to look back over the long stretch of Clara Barton's [1] activities (born in 1821, she died in 1912) and to reckon up the results of her patriotic devotion give one a deep realization of the never-ending conflict between the evil misunderstanding of men and nations, and the healing might of love with understanding. Clara Barton, christened Clarissa Harlowe Barton, came of pure American stock, transplanted from Lancashire to New England in 1640. The founder of her line lived through the era of Salem witchcraft and defended the "witches" at his own peril. A sturdy courage runs like a vein of granite down the generations of the Barton family, and gleams in father, son, mother, and daughter. In 1793 Stephen Barton, Clara's father, marched with the troops from Boston via Philadelphia to Michigan, where under Mad Anthony Wayne he served three years, suffering untold hardships. As a tiny child upon her father's knee Clara listened to tales of fights with the English and Indians, and imbibed her love of the country for which he had given the strength of his youth.

When she was only eleven and very timid, her brother David was injured by a fall, and the little sister became his nurse, leaving school for that purpose. It seems incredible, but long after Miss Barton said that for two years she left his bedside for only one half-day; she "almost forgot there was an outside to the house." This experience was prophetic.

After finishing her studies she began to teach, and by force of character was successful. Among other things, in 1855 she convinced the conservative citizens of Borden-

[1] The Life of Clara Barton. By Percy H. Epler. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

town, New Jersey, by demonstration that they needed a public school. She opened with five pupils. In five weeks she had six hundred, an assistant, and a salary. She afterward found many of these pupils under most affecting conditions upon the battlefields of our Civil War. Having lost her voice from overwork, she went to Washington, which was to be the center of her activities for sixty years. She was appointed one of the first woman clerks under the Government, if not the very first. She felt deeply upon National questions, and often said that the war began the night she listened until one o'clock to Charles Sumner's great speech, "The Crime against Kansas," in the Senate in 1856.

From the first shot on Fort Sumter to the final battle Clara Barton did heroic service, ever as near "the front" as it was possible to go.

She had from the first the absolute devotion of the soldiers, and gradually won the confidence of State and war leaders. Army transports and men were given to her to help distribute the stores she had collected for use among the wounded and sick soldiers. It is appalling to read of the lamentable lack of provision and organization in those awful days. In view of the miracles of surgery and efficient relief work done in the present war, one's blood runs cold and then mounts high in reading of the amazing feats of strength and courage of heart shown by this little lone woman—often the only woman among thousands of men—struggling to supply the pressing needs of the moment. These glowing pictures of our Civil War must be studied to be comprehended.

After the war, quite exhausted by the added labors of four years' searching for "missing" men, Miss Barton went abroad to rest. Rest, however, was not for her. She plunged into the Red Cross work of the Franco-Prussian conflict. Her letters disclose an admiration for German methods and almost equal disapproval of the French, and are interesting reading these days.

After long invalidism she returned to America to establish the American Red Cross and affiliate it with the older European organizations.

That the spirit of this wonderful woman should have been shadowed in her old age by misunderstandings, from any cause, is most deplorable. Her intense individualism led her into faults of administration, but it also led to achievements unequaled by any woman of our day.

We turn from war scenes to every-day life, often filled with unmarked tragedy, and find ample room for heroic sacrifice. Since Jane Addams's "Twenty Years at Hull House" nothing has attracted more attention to social work, and particularly to the value of personality in the field of district nursing, than the story told by Lillian D. Wald in "The House on Henry Street."[1] The work of these two leaders, running parallel for a score of years, offers comparison and contrast. Hull House was a venture, meeting difficulties that have been smoothed from the path of its many successors. The college settlements, free libraries, nurses' settlements, and all such efficient agencies had their unacknowledged genesis in old-time soup kitchens, church visiting, and deaconess work. It is only natural that a tinge of the right of discovery should be found in the records of these modern activities. Miss Addams distinguished it long ago in those who "put forth thorns in their desire to bear grapes" and developed "a dark mistaken eagerness alternating with fatigue" which supersedes "the great and gracious ways so much more congruous with worthy aims."

Miss Wald escapes this danger, and her narrative shows her to be one of great and gracious ways, as well as of sympathetic and practical wisdom. She was drawn into the maelstrom of nationalities and needs in Henry Street through her profession as a nurse, and with her friend Miss Brewster bravely attacked the hydra-headed evils of the neighborhood—the result of poverty, ignorance, and municipal neglect. It is a fine business, but to be undertaken only by strong souls.

A Jewess, she understood and reverenced the apprehension aroused in the minds of the pious Jews, and she is a sympathetic interpreter of their difficulties. She knows as well Slavs, Armenians, Huns, and Orientals, and she sees them from the view-point of an American as they change into the sort of American we must recognize and develop. She seems to occupy a middle ground between that of Miss Repplier in her brilliant paper "The Modest Emigrant" and Miss Kellor, who replies in "Lo, the Poor Emigrant!" Miss Wald certainly would not indorse Stephen Graham when he brands the United States as a greedy, cruel exploiter of bewildered foreign labor. She understands because she helps, and she helps

[1] The House on Henry Street. By Lillian D. Wald. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $2.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

because she does not suffer from attacks of analytical criticism. It is worth while to be reminded of the improvements about Henry Street in twenty years. Good paving, the finest of school buildings, houses demolished to make room for bridges and small parks, recreation piers, and a chain of free libraries—these are some of the physical miracles accompanying moral change as well as growth of progressive public opinion. To belong to the Order of the Nurses of the Poor is a high honor. In 1914 26,000 patients were visited in their homes, and these busy nurses from Henry Street visited 226,000 homes. The poor do not go to the hospitals willingly, so the nurses took care of one thousand more patients last year than three large New York hospitals combined.

The essence of the beauty of this work, often discouraging and apparently petty, is gathered up in a photograph sometimes called "The Madonna of Ellis Island," which, sweet in grouping, spirit, and effect, brings the book to a close. Under it is written, "There is a stream of inflowing life."

The third pioneer in the group of notable women is Anna Howard Shaw.[1] The opening pages of her brilliant narrative bring the same response one felt when John Muir painted the artlessly artistic picture of his youth in our undeveloped Western country. Every one knows Dr. Shaw, but it is doubtful if many knew, before she wrote this fascinating story, the factors that went to her making. A Scotch woman of long ancestry deeply rooted in British soil, she reveals with clearness the "long, long thoughts" of her childhood and the adventures of the little family set in the deep solitude of the Michigan woods in the early fifties. The father, a lovable dreamer, thought his duty done when he sent his wife and five young children to live in a log cabin in the midst of three hundred and sixty acres of wild forest. Meanwhile, for a year and a half he worked at his trade in Massachusetts and sent occasional remittances and the "Independent." There the mother and children fought for a mere existence, and the soul of the devoted mother sank into despair while bravely doing her duty.

However, the skilled author sets forth an inspiring tale of those rigorous years that should be read by all young people who would live their lives in self-forgetfulness and usefulness. Pathos and glowing humor illuminate these pages. The family brought with them all the effects of good training, refinement, and sturdy mental and moral equipment. A touch reveals the Scotch mother whose severest comment on any woman was that she was the type that would "keep a dog, make saleratus biscuit, and read the New York 'Ledger' in the daytime."

The healthy, happy, busy childhood passed, and after school came college in the castle-building mind of little Anna. She made her way through incredible difficulties, cheerful, hopeful, and always helpful. After gaining her college degree she antagonized her family and society in general by qualifying for the ministry, being finally ordained, after several rebuffs, as a minister of the Methodist Protestant Church. Her accounts of youthful struggles with difficult church boards are mingled wittily with appreciation of help and encouragement in her chosen calling.

She was associated in temperance work with Frances Willard, and left that field to ally herself with the forces of equal suffrage, under the command of Susan B. Anthony, lovingly known as "Aunt Susan." For eighteen years these two were rarely separated. Many humorous anecdotes are narrated of their lecture tours here and abroad. Mrs. Besant's "other-worldliness" roused Aunt Susan to protest. "Annie," she demanded, "why don't you make that aura of yours do its gallivanting in this world, looking up the needs of the oppressed and investigating the causes of present wrongs? Then you could reveal to us workers just what we should do to put things right and we could be about it." Mrs. Besant sighed and said life was short and æons were long, and it was useless to deal with individuals here. "But, Annie," exclaimed Miss Anthony, "we *are* here; our business is here. It's our duty to do what we can here!" In this spirit has the long life of Dr. Shaw been spent.

A political opponent describes her as in a class by herself—"there is no subtler, wittier, more logical, or more persuasive speaker" for the cause she upholds. She wins the love of the women who associate with her. Upon her recent resignation as President of the National Association the tribute paid to her was full of affection, and she must almost have forgotten the thorny path she had trod in the view of the goal so rarely vouchsafed to a pioneer.

[1] The Story of a Pioneer. By Anna Howard Shaw, D.D., M.D. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BY THE WAY

"I want a cake of the best toilet soap you have," a shopper in one of the big New York department stores said to a saleswoman the other day; "how much is it, please?" "Two dollars and ninety cents," was the staggering reply as the clerk brought forth from a case a small, daintily wrapped package; "and you're lucky to get this, for we're not getting any more of them now." It was a French soap, and the high price, it was said, was due to the exquisite perfume used in its manufacture.

Out of 100,000 words used in personal and business letters the word "the" heads the list in frequency, being used 6,933 times, according to a recent investigation. "And" comes next. "Mother" was used almost twice as frequently as "father" in these letters, and "good" was used eight times as often as "pretty."

The steamers Pilgrim and Puritan, familiar to a generation of travelers between New York and Boston, are to be sent to the scrap heap. To modernize them would have involved too great an expenditure.

"The Confederate soldier was the most quixotic human being in the world, I reckon," said Senator John Sharp Williams in a reminiscential speech the other day. As illustrating the code upheld in those days, the Senator added: "We sometimes made complaint, as Admiral Semmes did, that a Yankee vessel had armor on it while our vessel did not, and that it was 'not a gentlemanly way of fighting.'" Some things that the South felt bitterly about, said the Senator, were "absolutely angelic in comparison with what has been done lately in this European war."

A startling sign, which was merely intended to advertise a laundry that would relieve the housewife of the family wash, appeared, says a contributor to "Everybody's," on the fence of one of our baseball parks. It read: "Don't Kill Your Wife! Let US Do Your Dirty Work. Mountain City Laundry."

John Masefield, the visiting English poet, told a story of Tennyson the other day to show how human the real poet often is. At a dinner the lady seated next to Tennyson had talked effusively to him about art, literature, and other high themes. Finally Tennyson broke his silence by saying: "I don't like this mutton. It ought to have been cut in hunks!"

Has any other invalid in the world a record like Mollie Fancher's? For half a century she has been lying day after day and year after year in her bed in her home in Brooklyn as the result of an accident when she was seventeen. She has just celebrated the golden jubilee of her invalidism, and among the testimonials she received was a letter of sympathy from President Wilson. A curious fact about Miss Fancher's illness is that formerly remarkable psychic powers, which were widely discussed in scientific circles, were attributed to her. These powers of "mind-reading" have now disappeared. Her optimism and her humor remain, however, and she "reads everything in the papers except the war news."

Jaded novel readers will find fresh imaginative breezes blowing for them in stories told by children in the "Atlantic Monthly" under the title "Girls, Boys, and Story Telling." In the experiments (conducted by Professor Stratton, of the University of California) one conclusion reached was this: "In imagination directed to form a story the plain and common girl excels the boy." A charming sample from one little girl's story is this, part of a princess's cross-examination of her suitor:

But I want to know why you call me beautiful no one else has call me beautiful befor But you
They think you are if they don't say so

That pioneer days are not yet very remote is indicated by the newspaper sketches of the late Colonel John T. Boone. Colonel Boone, whose surname naturally suggests adventure and enterprise, was one of the first promoters of life insurance in the West. In his early days he sold many policies to gold-miners in the Rockies, who paid their premiums in gold dust, and this sometimes filled his saddle-bags before he returned to his headquarters. The expression, "Down with the dust!" for "Pay up!" doubtless harks back to these times.

A correspondent who begins his letter with "Oh! Outlook!" ends it with the quotation from our issue of January 12 of the words "*either* of the *four* plans." But the following quotations from the Oxford English Dictionary show that this use of *either* for *any* is not indefensible: "That doctrine which tends to the furtherance of all or either of these three;" "Rubens, Jordens, and Snyder . . . became more valuable than if finished by either of them singly;" "At either of the three corners."

The English correspondent of "Office Appliances" writes from London: "Women and girls enter the industrial field in increasing numbers every week. All the old ideas about women's work are being knocked in the head. Conventions go by the board and the nation is benefiting."

Concerning the liquor problem the same correspondent says: "Crime and drunkenness have dropped tremendously in this country since the war began, the latter of course largely as a result of restricted hours that now prevail for the selling of intoxicants, and the legal abolition of the old-time custom of 'treating' to drinks, buying intoxicants on credit, and the compulsory lowering of the alcoholic strength of spirits."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED